Margaret Carnegie
Library

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/transmississippi0000card_z2r1

The TRANS-MISSISSIPPI WEST
(1803-1853)

A HISTORY OF ITS ACQUISITION AND SETTLEMENT

BY
CARDINAL GOODWIN, PH.D.
PROFESSOR OF AMERICAN HISTORY IN MILLS COLLEGE

D. APPLETON AND COMPANY
NEW YORK :: 1922 :: LONDON

COPYRIGHT, 1922, BY
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

978
G656t
c. 1

27048

TO

HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON

AND TO THE GROUP OF YOUNG SCHOLARS WHO OWE THEIR LOVE OF WESTERN HISTORY TO THE INSPIRATION AND TRAINING WHICH THEY RECEIVED FROM HIS INSTRUCTION

PREFACE

This volume covers the period of expansion in the United States which begins with the acquisition of Louisiana in 1803 and ends with the Gadsden Purchase fifty years later. During the last fifteen years a great deal has been done by State Historical Societies and by individual students to develop the local history of communities west of the Mississippi. While the work is incomplete, enough has been accomplished to justify one in attempting to give a general account of the acquisition and settlement of the country by the people of the United States. This work is the beginning of such a study.

While the writer has made liberal use of the monographic and other secondary works dealing with the Trans-Mississippi West, he has not confined his investigations to them. Frequently he has gone to the sources, and occasionally work in these primary materials has rewarded him with new information. Particularly is this true with investigations connected with such topics as explorations and commerce in the Southwest. The volume, too, will be found to contain a more complete account of the settlement of the country west of the Mississippi by citizens of the United States than has appeared formerly. Some of the information presented has been published in magazine articles. This is true of chapter one, parts of chapters two and three, practically all of chapter eight, and a few paragraphs in chapter thirteen. The rest of the work is presented here for the first time.

There has been a growing interest in the western history of the United States during the last few years. Several colleges have introduced courses in the subject and the number is increasing. It is hoped that classes organized for such study will find this volume helpful. It will be of value also to the general reader who is interested in the expansion of the United States, and it should find a place as a reference work in the larger high schools of the country.

C. G.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is a pleasant task to acknowledge the kindness of those who have assisted me in this work. To all of them, whether mentioned by name or not, I desire to extend many thanks.

The members of the staff of the Bancroft Library, Dr. Bolton, Dr. Priestley and Mr. Hill have been most courteous in placing at my disposal the valuable materials contained in the Bancroft Collection. Dr. Owen C. Coy prepared two maps for me, one on Overland Routes to the Pacific and another on Population. The map on Indian Land Cessions was drawn under my direction by my former student, Miss Esther Butters. My colleague, Mr. Roi Partridge of the Art Department of Mills College, gave advice in its preparation. Miss Dorothy Deardorf, my assistant, has aided in verifying the references.

Dr. Eugene C. Barker of the University of Texas read the two chapters on Texas, and his comments and suggestions have been most helpful. To Dr. Joseph Schafer, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, I am under obligation for a critical reading of the Oregon chapters and for verifying a copy of the map of Iowa and Wisconsin with the original in the Wisconsin Historical Society Collection. Dr. Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Minnesota read the entire manuscript and made helpful suggestions.

On many occasions during the last five years I have discussed the work with Professor Bolton. His remarkable enthusiasm and his broad grasp of the entire field of Western history have been unfailing sources of inspiration and help.

I desire particularly to acknowledge my obligations to my wife. The manuscript has been twice typewritten by her and she has assisted me in many other ways, including the drudgery of proofreading.

C. G.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	The Purchase of Louisiana	1
II.	American Explorations West of the Mississippi, 1804-1822	32
III.	The Settlement of the Louisiana Purchase and the Adjustment of Boundaries to 1821	72
IV.	The American Fur Trade and Commerce in the West	114
V.	The American Occupation of Texas	150
VI.	Early Claims to Oregon	200
VII.	Later Explorations West of the Mississippi	226
VIII.	Early American Settlement of Iowa and Minnesota	246
IX.	The Settlement of the Oregon Country	275
X.	The Acquisition of Texas	327
XI.	Oregon Diplomacy Through 1846	368
XII.	The Settlement of the Great Salt Lake Basin	392
XIII.	The Settlement of California	423
XIV.	The Mexican Cession	468
	Index	509

MAPS

FACING PAGE

Indian Land Cessions west of the Mississippi (1804-1854) . 88

Map of Texas containing the latest Grants and Discoveries (1836) 176

Map showing the Dixon and McKnight route to the Pembina Settlements over which cattle were driven from Missouri (compiled from a tracing by C. V. Slater, B. C. E., for the State Historical Department of Iowa. The original, made by I. Judson in 1838, is in the Wisconsin Historical Society Collections) 248

Overland routes to the Pacific (1853) 442

Distribution of population west of the Mississippi (1850) . . 456

The United States showing the addition of Territory (1803-1853) 504

THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI WEST

CHAPTER I

THE PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA

The work of La Salle.—That part of the Trans-Mississippi West included in the Louisiana purchase was claimed by France by right of discovery and settlement. To the work of Robert Cavelier, better known as Sieur de la Salle, more than to that of any other man she is indebted for a basis for that claim. This indefatigable pathfinder had explored the Mississippi to its mouth in 1682. Returning to France in 1683 he won royal support and sailed from Rochelle in July of the year following with an adequate equipment for establishing a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. The Spaniards captured one of his four vessels and he missed the mouth of the great river with the other three, finally coming to Matagorda Bay during the early part of 1685, far west of his intended destination. Another vessel was soon lost by being grounded and La Salle landed his pioneers and built a fort which he called St. Louis. Disease, loss of tools, the hostility of the Indians, the departure of Beaujeau with the better of the two remaining vessels, and the wrecking of the other a little later all combined to defeat the success of the enterprise. After vain efforts to find the mouth of the Mississippi, La Salle and a few surviving followers started overland for Canada. But the leader was killed on the Brazos River [1] and his followers scattered.

[1] Bolton, Herbert E., "The Location of La Salle's Colony on the Gulf of Mexico," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, September, 1915.

French build fort on Gulf of Mexico.—The work of La Salle had fired the imaginations of many of his countrymen and when the treaty of Ryswick was signed in 1697 Louis XIV was persuaded to make an official undertaking of what had been supported originally by private enterprise. Men were already at hand to execute La Salle's ambitious project. They were two sons of Charles le Moyne of Quebec. Pierre, who is known as the Sieur d'Iberville, was one and Jean Baptiste, called Bienville from his seigniory, was the other. These two courageous leaders, the latter a midshipman but eighteen years of age at the time, sailed from Brest in October, 1698, with a well-established company of two hundred soldiers and colonists. The Spanish garrison just established at Pensacola refused them permission to land and Iberville came to anchor off Ship Island eighteen miles southeast of the present Mississippi city. Here during the early part of 1699 the adventurers built a fort on the Back Bay of Biloxi.

Explorations along lower Mississippi.—Iberville then turned his attention to exploring. With a party of about fifty men-at-arms in rowboats and canoes he made his way westward along the coast, finally reaching the mouth of the Mississippi, and proceeded up that river to the mouth of the Red. On the return the party divided. Bienville led some of the men over the route by which they had come and his older brother conducted the others through Iberville bayou and lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, into the Bay St. Louis. It was while making his passage through here that Iberville received from the natives a note written fourteen years earlier by Chevalier de Tonti, La Salle's lieutenant. This confirmed Iberville in the belief that he had reached the country to which the attention of France had been drawn by La Salle.

Before the middle of the year 1699 Iberville re-

turned to France with the ships, leaving Sauvole in command at Biloxi with Bienville as his lieutenant. Upon a later visit to the colony, in 1702, he ordered the post removed to a twenty-seven mile Bluff on Mobile River, and eight years later, two years after the death of Iberville, Bienville moved once more, on account of floods, this time to the site of modern Mobile.

English on the Mississippi.—During these years numerous exploring expeditions were made along the lower Mississippi. On one of them, in the summer of 1700, Iberville was accompanied by Pierre Charles le Sueur, an adventurer who had been on the upper Mississippi in search of furs, copper, lead, and colored earth several years earlier. A number of explorations for mines were made at this time in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, and Tennessee by various prospecting parties. Through the reports of leaders of some of these expeditions the French learned of the appearance of the English in the lower Mississippi. Le Sueur had found an English trader at the mouth of the Arkansas when on his way to the upper Missouri country, and in 1699 while descending the river in small boats Bienville and his party came upon an English frigate of sixteen guns at a bend in the river eighteen miles below the present city of New Orleans, at a place called English Turn.

Founding of New Orleans; division of Louisiana.—In February, 1718, New Orleans was founded by Bienville, and immediately became not only the seat of government but the metropolis of the Louisiana province. Both Bienville and Sauvole had been favorably impressed with the site in 1699 and had reported it as a suitable location for a colony, but Iberville was afraid that a town established inland would be subject to Indian raids. Three years after New Orleans was founded Louisiana was divided into nine military districts called Mobile, Biloxi, Alabama,

New Orleans, Yazoo, Natchez, Arkansas, Illinois, and Natchitoches. The last of these was founded as a buffer colony against the hostile Spaniards.

French inland expeditions and posts.—One of the motives which had actuated the French in founding Louisiana was the development of an overland commerce with the Southwest. Texas was claimed by the Spaniards at this time, and frightened by La Salle's intrusion at Matagorda Bay, they had occupied parts of the territory and subsequently withdrawn. The same territory of Texas was claimed by the French because La Salle's ill-fated colony had been founded there. An expedition was sent into the country by Bienville in 1714 under the command of Louis Juchereau, better known as Sieur de St. Denis. Other expeditions were led into the Spanish territory of the Southwest, and in 1717 the French erected a fort at Natchitoches near the Red River and about seven leagues from an outpost built in Texas by the Spaniards.

These expeditions were not confined to the Southwest, however. As early as 1704 French Canadians were reported on the Missouri River. A little later expeditions among the Osage and Pawnee Indians were led by such traders as Du Tisne and Bourgmont.[2] The appearance of the French in this region revived the interest of the Spanish. In 1720 they led a "retributive expedition" among the Missouri allies. This movement alarmed the French of the Illinois country and Fort Orleans was erected on the Missouri, probably in the present county of Carroll on the north bank of the stream. Bourgmont built the fort and remained there for four years supported by a strong garrison. He then began to withdraw gradually and in

[2] Margry, Pierre, *Découvertes, et établissements des Français dans L'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale (1614-1754) Mémoirs et Documents Originaux.* 6 vols. Paris, 1888. VI. 313-315, 385-452.

1725 or 1726 the remaining troops were slain by the Indians.

Apparently there were expeditions led from the Illinois country into Trans-Mississippi Louisiana Territory in 1734. The one in 1739 was headed by Pierre and Paul Mallet. They reached Santa Fé and some of them returned by way of New Orleans. Here they delighted Bienville with an account of their explorations—explorations which had brought Frenchmen, perhaps for the first time, within sight of the Rocky Mountains.[3] This was nearly four years before Chevalier Verendrye discovered the Bighorn Range farther north.[4]

In the meantime French settlements were being extended on the upper Mississippi in the Illinois country. As early as the time of Marquette the Jesuits had operated in Indian villages along the Illinois River. The Seminary priests opened a mission of the Holy Family at Cahokia on the Mississippi some time in March, 1699. During the following year the Jesuits removed their establishment to Kaskaskia. In 1718 Fort de Chartres was erected for the purpose of checking the encroachments of the English on the Ohio and the Mississippi. At St. Philippe and at Prairie du Rocher posts were erected in 1723 and 1733 respectively. The Arkansas post which was erected by Tonti in 1686 had been rebuilt by La Harpe in 1722, during the period of his explorations from New Orleans up the Mississippi to the Arkansas.

Development of French Louisiana.—The Illinois country became noted for its agricultural products during the first half of the eighteenth century. Sup-

[3] "Voyages des Frères Mallet avec six autres Français, depuis la Rivière des Panimahas dans le Missouri jusqu'é Santa-Fe" (1739-1740), *ibid.*, 455-ff.

[4] A brief but critical study of the Verendrye explorations may be found in O. G. Libby, "Some Verendrye Enigmas," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, September, 1916.

plies were sent in large quantities to Detroit, to Ohio posts, and to New Orleans and Mobile. From the two last-named places they were shipped to the West Indies and to Europe. During a winter, about 1746, when provisions were scarce at New Orleans, it is reported that the French in Illinois sent to the distressed people of that district about eight hundred thousand weight of flour. In exchange for their products the inhabitants of Illinois received direct from other French colonies and from Europe sugar, rice, indigo, cotton, manufactured tobacco, and similar luxuries. Education was neglected, Kaskaskia actually having no school at all until 1817. The few schools which existed were limited almost entirely to "informal private groups collected in various communities by migrating teachers; . . ." [5]

The growth of Louisiana was not rapid. Time and again the life of the settlement was threatened by starvation and by Indian troubles, but was saved finally from both of these disasters by the arrival of the Indian trader and by the introduction of European plants. The cultivation of indigo was introduced about 1723, but it failed to attract popular favor and finally ceased to be a staple. In 1751 the Jesuit fathers began the culture of sugar which for a few years following was used for making spirits. A cargo of sugar was shipped from the colony in 1765, but it did not prove a profitable commodity of commerce at that time because it was crystallized so poorly that it leaked out of the hogshead before the shipment reached France. From then until 1794 sugar was cultivated only for distillation purposes but during the latter year Bore, a planter, again tried cultivating it on a larger scale and sold his crop for twelve thousand dollars. The success of this

[5] Alvord, Clarence W., *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818,* Springfield, 1920; (Vol I of the *Centennial History of Illinois*), ch. x, and p. 455. See also Thwaites, R. G., "France in America," VII. Chapter V, in A. B. Hart (editor), *The American Nation, A History,* 28 vols. N. Y.

venture together with the introduction of cotton in 1795 improved the economic basis of Louisiana. Rice and tobacco had been introduced already, and fig trees from Provence and orange trees from Santo Domingo had become acclimated.[6] By 1802 the colony was exporting large quantities of cotton, sugar, and molasses; and smaller quantities of indigo, peltries, lumber, lead, corn, horses, cattle, and other articles were being shipped. These commodities and large supplies of naval stores were carried in American and Spanish vessels, the former outnumbering the latter nearly two to one.

Louisiana transferred to Spain.—By secret treaty of November 3, 1762, Louisiana was ceded by France to Spain to compensate her for the loss of Florida. The territory which passed at this time from the French monarch to his cousin the king of Spain included the part of Louisiana west of the Mississippi River and the island on which New Orleans stands—an island extending along the eastern course of the river for about two hundred and thirty miles above its mouth. That part of Louisiana lying east of the Mississippi with the exception of the island noted, was acknowledged to belong to Great Britain by the terms of the Treaty of Paris which ended the French and Indian war. France also guaranteed free navigation of the Mississippi to Great Britain. It was not until October, 1764, that the commandant learned of the cession and it was much later, March, 1766, before the first Spanish governor, Don Antonio de Ulloa, accompanied by ninety soldiers, arrived to take command of the new province. Feeling ran high. Ulloa was unpopular and at the end of two years he was expelled by the French population. Charles III then sent

[6] Channing, *Jeffersonian System,* XII, Chapter IV., in The American Nation Series. *See also* Thwaites, *France in America,* Chapter V, and Phelps, *Louisiana,* Boston (American Commonwealth Series), 199-200.

Alexandro O'Reilly, a man made of tougher fiber. For over a year he ruled as special commissioner to establish Spanish authority. Some of the rebels were executed and others were imprisoned—acts for which that vigorous officer received the sobriquet of "The Bloody O'Reilly." Having restored order O'Reilly became more conciliatory and numerous old French officers, like Villiers and De Mézières, were appointed to important positions. By the end of 1770 possession was taken again of the interior posts and the Spanish flag had been raised at all points, Ste. Genevieve being the last to haul down the tricolor.[7]

Population and settlement.—The ceded district had a total population estimated at from eight thousand, two hundred and fifty to eleven thousand, five hundred, more than half of whom were colored. The principal settlements were scattered along the Mississippi and the lower Missouri, and along the Red River as far as Natchitoches. The most densely populated area, however, lay between Pointe Coupee (situated on the Mississippi below Red River) and New Orleans, where there were more than seven thousand inhabitants, approximately two-thirds of whom were colored. Other settlements in the lower district had been established at La Balize, Attakapa, Opelousas, Avoyelle, and Natchitoches. There were posts also farther up the Mississippi opposite Natchez and the Arkansas settlement, and still farther northward, near the Missouri, were St. Charles and Ste. Genevieve. Farther west there were slender trading posts, such as St. Louis, among the Cadodacho at the bend of the Red River, and a similar station on the Osage, and Fort Cavagnol near the mouth of the Kansas. In the interior, still farther beyond the pale of civilization, roamed many

[7] Bolton, H. E., and Marshall, T. M., *The Colonization of North America from 1492-1783,* N. Y., 1920, 395-396. Thwaites, *France in America,* Chapter XVIII.

renegade Frenchmen and half-breeds who under the name of hunters had become practical outlaws. One official wrote that the Arkansas River was the "asylum of the wickedest persons without doubt in all the Indies. They live so forgetful of the laws that it is easy to find persons who have not returned to Christian lands for ten, twenty, or thirty years, and who pass their scandalous lives in public concubinage with the captive Indian women who for their purpose they purchase among the heathen, loaning those of whom they tire to others of less power, that they may labor in their service; giving them no other wage than the promise of quieting their lascivious passions; in short they have no other rule than their own caprice, and the respect which they pay the boldest and most daring, who control them." [8] Chief of these Arkansas outlaws at the time was Brindamur, who, being of gigantic frame and extraordinary strength, had made himself a petty king over those vagabonds and highwaymen.

Prosperity of Louisiana under Spain.—Louisiana remained under Spanish rule for thirty-four years. During that time, contrary to the general conception, its prosperity was greater than it had ever been before. The population had increased to fifty thousand by 1803 as compared with about ten thousand at the end of the French régime. Gradually commerce was made freer and the restricted trade relations of Ulloa's time gave place to a more liberal policy. Furs were exempted from duty for a period of ten years for the purpose of encouraging their exportation. The fur trade was reorganized and greatly improved. Instead of following the time-honored custom of relying upon the mission and the presidio for controlling the natives—a custom which was being followed at that time in California—Spain utilized the numerous French traders

[8] Bolton (editor), *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780*, 2 vols., Cleveland, 1914, I. 166.

who were already among the Louisiana tribes. "A regular corps of licensed traders was installed; vagabonds, outlaws, and unlicensed traders were driven from the tribes, presents were distributed annually, and medals of merit were given to the friendly chiefs." [9] St. Louis was the principal center for the fur trade on the west side of the river and Kaskaskia on the east. Into the northern territory drained by the upper Mississippi and its tributaries and into the vast stretches toward the Spanish commercial center of Santa Fé, itinerant merchants found their way and carried on a lucrative trade with the Indians. French traders had reached the Mandan villages at the great bend of the Missouri by the close of the century. Here they met British agents who had come from posts located on the Assiniboine and the Saskatchewan farther north in Canada.[10]

Anglo-Americans, the Spanish, and the Mississippi. —By the treaty of 1783 that part of Louisiana Territory which had been ceded by France to Great Britain was in turn recognized by the latter as a part of the newly-formed American nation. During and immediately following the Revolutionary War large numbers of settlers crossed the Alleghanies and erected homes in Kentucky and in the territories to the north and to the south of that region. The sole outlet for the products of these western settlers was the Mississippi River. The national authorities were slow in realizing this, as a result of which there was much discontent among the settlers of the West and they became involved in schemes which judged by modern standards were disloyal. At first filibustering expeditions against the Spanish were proposed. But this did not appear practicable and in 1788 George Rogers Clark and men like him appeared willing to join with Spain in developing the interior of the continent. At-

[9] *Ibid.*, 251.
[10] Thwaites, *France in America*, 292-293.

tracted by promise of large land grants many Kentuckians settled in Spanish territory west of the Mississippi. Daniel Boone and his family moved there in 1799.

When the Spanish autnorities during this perioa proposed to close the mouth of the Mississippi through a treaty to be signed by the confederate government the indignant wrath of men of the western country was so positive that negotiations were halted temporarily. Nothing definite was accomplished until the government under the constitution was put into operation. Then a treaty was signed at Madrid in 1795 by which citizens of the United States were given free navigation of the Mississippi and the right to land their goods at New Orleans free of duty while awaiting trans-shipment. But during this period events were transpiring on the other side of the Atlantic which were to bring Louisiana again within the scope of European politics and finally into the possession of the United States. To these it will be necessary to turn our attention.

France attempts to regain Louisiana.—The French government had tried to regain possession of Louisiana on several occasions before the act of retrocession was carried out. Following the treaty of 1783 which ended the American Revolution, Vergennes wished to recover that territory, and Spain was willing to return it. France could not pay the price although it was no more than the amount necessary to reimburse Spain for the expense of the colony. Following the peace of Bale of July 22, 1795, the French Republic again tried to get possession of Louisiana and failed. She did succeed in procuring Spain's consent to cede the eastern part of Santo Domingo at this time as already indicated, but the French did not ask for immediate possession because of the English superiority on the sea. Once more, in 1797, influenced by Carnot and

Barthelemy, the Directory offered the Spanish king a principality to be made by uniting the Duchy of Parma with three legations just taken from the Pope, the same to be given the king's son-in-law as the kingdom of Etruria, but Charles refused to be bribed even by the splendid position which this would have given his daughter. Still another attempt was made in 1798 but with no more success than had followed earlier efforts.

Two years elapsed before the subject was proposed again to the authorities at Madrid. During this time Talleyrand spent some anxious days trying to recover what his mismanagement had lost. The storm of protest in America following the return of Monroe and Pinckney had not died down when Adams appointed new commissioners to Paris upon his own responsibility. They arrived there in the spring of 1800 and on September 30 following, the treaty of Morfontaine was signed. This restored relations between France and the United States.

Berthier's mission.—In the meantime Napoleon, then at the head of the French government, took the final step in the acquisition of territory for establishing his colonial system. He ordered Talleyrand to send a special messenger to the French minister at Madrid with powers for concluding a treaty with Spain by which she should retrocede Louisiana to France. The subject was pushed rapidly and successfully at the Spanish court, but despite this Napoleon determined to send a special agent and General Berthier, a man who stood close to the First Consul in confidential matters, was selected for the mission. He left for Madrid during the last of August, 1800, carrying with him a letter of introduction from Bonaparte to the Spanish king and the *project* of a treaty of retrocession which had been drawn by Talleyrand at the command of the First Consul. Certainly the *project*

would not tend to allay uneasiness in the United States.

The French Republic pledges itself to procure for the Duke of Parma in Italy an aggrandizement of territory to contain at least one million inhabitants; the Republic charges itself with procuring the consent of Austria and the other States interested, so that the Duke may be put into possession of his new territory at the coming peace between France and Austria. Spain on her side pledges herself to retrocede to the French Republic the colony of Louisiana with the same extent it actually has in the hands of Spain, and such as it should be according to the treaties subsequently passed between Spain and other States. Spain shall further join to this cession that of the two Floridas, eastern and western with their actual limits.[11]

Besides this Spain was to give to France six ships of war, and the provinces mentioned were to be delivered to France whenever the territory promised for the Duke of Parma should be delivered by France to Spain. Mutual assistance was to be given against any person or persons who should threaten or attack them in consequence of executing their engagement.

In the history of the United States—to quote again from Henry Adams—hardly any document, domestic or foreign, to be found in their archives has greater interest than this project; for from it the United States must trace whatever legal title they obtain to the vast region west of the Mississippi. The treaties which followed were made merely in pursuance of this engagement, with such variations as seemed good for the purpose of carrying out the central idea of restoring Louisiana to France.[12]

Treaty of San Ildefonso.—The retrocession was not to be concluded without difficulties. The object of Berthier's mission had been published in a Paris news-

[11] Quoted in Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America*, 9 vols., N. Y., 1903-1904. I. 367.

[12] *Ibid.*, 367, 368.

paper and this reached the American minister at Madrid, who sought a denial from Urquijo, the French minister to Spain. The denial was not convincing. There was further difficulty. Louisiana had been demanded by Alquier, but Berthier was told to require the Floridas and six ships of war in addition. Louisiana was French as we have seen and the Spanish king was willing to part with it for a kingdom in Italy, but he was not willing to part with the Floridas. So the final agreement provided that the prince-presumptive of Parma, who was the son-in-law and nephew of Don Carlos, should receive an Italian kingdom of at least a million inhabitants. Tuscany was the territory selected for the new monarch who was to be known as King of Etruria. In return Spain was to retrocede Louisiana to France. After the general peace, the king might also cede that part of west Florida which lay between the Mississippi and the Mobile. At San Ildefonso, on October 1, 1800, the treaty of retrocession was signed. As has been indicated [13] this agreement undid the convention of 1800 signed on the preceding day by Joseph Bonaparte and the American ministers.

Godoy versus Napoleon.—The First Consul's brother, Lucien, was sent as ambassador to Madrid to complete the details of the agreement. At the Spanish capital Urquijo was dismissed, Godoy was called from retirement to take his place, and the struggle for the possession of Louisiana began. Lucien negotiated a new treaty closing the bargain in regard to Parma and Tuscany to which Godoy offered no opposition. The treaty provided that the Prince of Parma be created King of Etruria and that Louisiana should be retroceded at once to France. This was signed at Madrid on March 21, 1801, and the young king and his consort were sent to Paris where they were hand-

[13] Channing, *The Jeffersonian System*, 59.

somely entertained by Napoleon. A few months later the First Consul called upon the King of Spain for authority to take possession of Louisiana, but Godoy had determined that this should not be permitted. The excuse which the wily Spaniard used was that Napoleon had not fulfilled his part of the agreement. The young king had been sent to Italy to take possession of his kingdom, but upon his arrival he found there was no royal authority to go with his royal title. The entire control was in the hands of the French, and no foreign power recognized the new kingdom. Napoleon was vexed beyond measure at having his policy held up in this manner, but for about a year longer he permitted Godoy to hold Louisiana.

While Godoy still defied him Napoleon turned to crush another opponent whom he detested even more than the Prince of Peace. This was Toussaint L'Ouverture.

Importance of Santo Domingo.—The island of Santo Domingo was chiefly Spanish, but its western end belonged to France by language as well as by history. During the days of the Bourbons this small part of the island had been considered the most valuable of French possessions. Two thirds of the commercial interest of the French nation centered there before the beginning of the French Revolution in 1789. More than seven hundred ocean-going vessels were employed in its carrying trade and its exports and imports combined were estimated at more than $140,000,000. The home market was supplied by it with sugar, coffee, cotton, and indigo. Many prominent creole families in Paris received their incomes from this French possession and wielded considerable political influence in France, "while in the island itself, society enjoyed semi-Parisian ease and elegance, the natural product of an exaggerated slave system combined with the man-

ners, ideas, and amusements of a French proprietary caste." [14]

Class distinction on the island.—Of the six hundred thousand people living on the island in 1789, approximately five sixths were full-blooded negro slaves. About one half of the hundred thousand free citizens were mulattoes who were disqualified from holding office because of negro blood. Between these and the forty or fifty thousand creoles who held all the social and political privileges of the island there was considerable jealousy. Then too, the creoles were restless under the despotic colonial system, claiming for themselves political rights which the home government refused to grant. So when the revolution began in France in 1789 the creoles sympathized with the movement until the National Assembly supported the mulattoes. The creoles then turned royalists. The civil war which began in the island produced a slave insurrection that resulted in unspeakable horrors being committed.

Toussaint L'Ouverture.—For several years the strife continued and the confusion was increased by the entrance of the Spaniards and the English who hoped to effect a conquest of the island. The National Assembly abolished slavery on February 4, 1794, but at the time this rather increased the confusion. One of its greatest immediate results was that in April following Toussaint L'Ouverture, who had been head of a royalist band in Spanish pay since the beginning of the outbreak, returned and took service under the Republic. His grandfather had been a negro chief on the slave coast of Africa and had been brought to Santo Domingo as a slave. The French accepted Toussaint's services, but not until more than a year later was he commissioned brigadier-general by the National Convention. In May, 1797, he was made

[14] Adams, *History of the United States, I.* 378, 379.

General-in-Chief and was given military command over the whole colony. He rendered efficient service to the French nation and was liberally rewarded.

Toussaint seeks independence and relations with United States.—In July, 1797, commissioners arrived in France from the United States. They had been sent for the purpose of settling disputes then existing between the two countries, but Talleyrand refused to negotiate with them unless they would pay him a bribe of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. In the middle of April, 1798, two of the commissioners arrived home thoroughly disgusted. The report of their reception in the French capital and of Talleyrand's demands were published in the United States soon after their arrival and resulted in the spread of a strong resentment against the French. On June 13, 1798, Congress passed an act suspending commercial relations with France and her dependencies. At that time Toussaint was absolute ruler of Santo Domingo, although he recognized a general allegiance to the French Republic. He knew that the act of Congress if strictly enforced would work a great hardship on the blacks of the island, and that French authority would be strengthened by whatever weakened him. He determined upon absolute independence from France with a view to seeking better relations with the United States, an action upon which the latter nation had counted. Toussaint's advance was encouraged by the United States' Consul, and the former sent a special agent with a letter to the President giving complete assurance that if commercial intercourse were renewed between the United States and Santo Domingo he would do all within his power to protect it. Influenced by both political and economic reasons the President secured a new act from Congress which was approved February 9, 1799, and which was intended to satisfy Toussaint's request.

Having secured a reopening of the trade between the United States and Santo Domingo and having concluded a favorable treaty with England, L'Ouverture proceeded to carry out his intentions in regard to the establishment of independence. By the successful siege of Jacmel he captured and expelled his principal rival, Rigaud, in July, 1800. Following this almost immediately the French agent, Roumé, was imprisoned. Then came the seizure of the Spanish part of the island which had been ceded to France by the treaty of Bale in 1795, but which had not been actually transferred. In May, 1801, Toussaint gave a new constitution to Santo Domingo in which he assumed political power for life and reserved the right of naming his successor. In the last act he had outstripped Napoleon, and meanwhile, says Henry Adams, Bonaparte "chafed under the idea of being imitated by one whom he called a 'gilded African.' " [15]

Napoleon versus Toussaint L'Ouverture.—Summoning his brother-in-law, Leclerc, to Paris in the fall of 1801, the First Consul placed him in command of an expedition of twenty-five thousand men who had been ordered to assemble at Brest to overthrow Toussaint and reëstablish slavery in the island of Santo Domingo. In the United States, in the meantime, the political revolution of 1800 had produced a change in the administration of that country, and Napoleon had concluded a temporary peace with England. Toussaint was left to depend entirely upon his own resources. Even so he might have succeeded had his own men remained loyal, but the odds against him were great and on May 1, 1802, he surrendered to Leclerc. Shortly afterwards another foe appeared on the island against which the French battled in vain. The yellow fever broke out in the army. In September,

[15] *Ibid.*, 380-387.

1802, Leclerc wrote Napoleon that only four thousand of the twenty-eight thousand three hundred men sent to Santo Domingo remained fit for service. This was soon followed by news that Leclerc himself had succumbed to the horrible malady.

Napoleon thinks of selling Louisiana.—These disasters, together with the growing difficulty of maintaining peace with England, were important factors in Napoleon's determining to dispose of Louisiana. This decision had been reached probably by October 28, 1802.[16] Livingstone wrote to Jefferson on that day stating that he had had a conversation with Joseph Bonaparte and the latter had asked whether the United States would prefer Louisiana to the Floridas. But Livingstone had declared that his country had no desire to extend its boundaries across the Mississippi, so the plan for Louisiana was checked temporarily.

Closing the Mississippi and its effect.—In the United States at this time complications were developing which were to result in President Jefferson's sending a special envoy to France. The United States and Spain had agreed to a treaty in 1795 by which the boundaries between their territories were fixed, the free navigation of the Mississippi was guaranteed American citizens, and for a period of three years they were to deposit merchandise at New Orleans, with the privilege of exporting goods without paying duty. This privilege was to continue unless the king of Spain found it contrary to his interests. The Americans enjoyed the right of deposit for seven years without interruption.[17] Before Congress met in December, 1802, the authorities in Washington received word through Governor Claiborne at Natchez that Don

---

[16] T. M. Marshall, *A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, 1819-1841* (University of California Publications in History, 1914), 3, 4.

[17] *Ibid.*, 6.

Juan Ventura Morales, Spanish Intendant, had arbitrarily closed the port. This news created consternation in the United States. The people of Kentucky and Tennessee talked of war when they learned that the Mississippi was closed to them, and the New England Federalists, overjoyed at the attitude which Jefferson's western followers assumed and anxious to force the President to make some rash move which would cause his friends of that section to forsake his leadership, did all they could to plunge the country into instant war.

> Never in all his long and varied career [says Channing] did Jefferson's foxlike discretion stand him in better stead. Instead of following the public clamor, he calmly formulated a policy and carried it through to a most successful termination.[18]

To calm public agitation was the first task he set for himself, the second was to regain the right of deposit, and the third was to get possession of New Orleans and the Gulf coast. To these things he at once turned his attention.

Monroe's mission.—Despite the alarm expressed in his well-known letter to Livingstone dated April 18, 1802, at Washington, Jefferson's second annual message to Congress the following December was written in a tone of calm indifference as if nothing out of the ordinary had occurred. He did state that the cession of Louisiana to France would make necessary a change in the foreign relations of the United States, but what the change would be he did not indicate. More than a month later the House went into executive session and General Samuel Smith moved to appropriate two million dollars, the same to be used to meet "any expenses in relation to the intercourse between the United

---

[18] Channing, *Jeffersonian System*, 63.

States and foreign nations." Jefferson nominated James Monroe minister extraordinary to France and Spain on the day the motion was put. Both motions passed and Jefferson wrote a letter of explanation to Monroe on January 13, 1803.[19]

The agitation of the public mind on occasion of the late supervision of our right of deposit at New Orleans [he said] is extreme. In the western country it is natural and grounded on honest motives. In the seaports it proceeds from a desire for war which increases the mercantile lottery; among the Federalists generally and especially those of Congress the object is to force us into war if possible, in order to derange our finances, or if this cannot be done, to attach the western country to them as their best friends, and thus get again into power. Remonstrances, memorials, etc., are now circulating through the whole of the western country and signed by the body of the people. The measures we have been pursuing being invisible do not satisfy their minds. Something sensible therefore was become necessary; and indeed our object of purchasing New Orleans and the Floridas is a measure liable to assume so many shapes that no instructions could be squared to fit them, it was essential then to send a minister extraordinary to be joined with the ordinary one, with discretionary powers, first however well impressed with all our views and therefore qualified to meet and modify to these every form of proposition which could come from the other party.

British minister's comment.—The first part of Jefferson's programme was realized by this move. On the thirty-first of the same month Thornton, the British *chargé,* wrote to Lord Hawkesbury that the country seemed satisfied with the action which had been taken; and reliable information had assured the government at Washington that "the people of Kentucky will wait with patience the result of the steps which the executive government may think it right to take, without re-

[19] Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford editor), VIII. 190.

curring, as was apprehended would be the case, to force, for the assertion of their claims. The President regards this circumstance (with great justice, it appears to me) as the surest pledge of the continuance of his authority, and as the death-blow of the Federal party."[20] In the same letter Thornton already had said that Jefferson had assured him that the United States would never abandon its claim to the free navigation of the Mississippi. While the President hoped that a peaceful settlement could be made, he thought it very probable that Monroe might cross the channel to converse with British ministers about the free navigation of the Mississippi, and if compelled to resort to war the United States would throw away the scabbard.

The French chargé becomes uneasy.—The French *chargé,* Pichon, was thoroughly aroused by what had been done. Again and again he appealed to Talleyrand. He declared that it would be impossible for a government to be more bitter than that of the United States "at the humiliating attitude in which our silence about Louisiana places them." Jefferson, he thought, would be forced through necessity to yield his scruples against a British alliance, and Pichon had noticed that the President was "redoubling his civilities and attentions to the British *chargé.*" Pichon had a conference with Madison at the latter's request which confirmed his deepest fears. New Orleans and West Florida were essential for the American settlements on the upper Mississippi and Mobile rivers, Madison informed him, and Monroe had been instructed to obtain all the territory east of the Mississippi at a price not to exceed two or three million dollars. Since New Orleans was of no value to the French they could sell it to the Americans and build another city on the op-

[20] Quoted in Henry Adams, *History of the United States,* I. 436, 437.

posite bank of the river. The true policy of France required her to make the Mississippi her boundary anyway, because "the United States had no interest in seeing circumstances rise which should eventually lead their population to extend itself to the right bank." If Napoleon was not convinced by these arguments, Madison intimated to Pichon, "it might happen that the conduct of France would decide political combinations which, getting the upper hand of all these considerations, would tend to produce results no doubt disagreeable to the United States, but certainly still more so to France and her allies." [21]

The right of deposit restored.—Briefly, every possible thing was done to make France understand that the Mississippi must be kept open to the people of the United States. If France should force a war on the administration, Madison wrote Livingstone and Monroe in April, 1803, the two envoys were to invite England to form an alliance by which it should be agreed that neither party would make peace or a truce without the consent of the other. Before Madison had completed these instructions to the American representatives in France, however, the Spanish minister, the Marquis of Casa Yrujo, informed him that the Spanish government had sent a special messenger to notify the President that the right of deposit would be restored until another place could be selected or until some other arrangement could be made which would satisfy both parties. The Spanish minister was also instructed to thank the President for his friendly conduct during the time of recent excitement. So the second part of Jefferson's plans was realized. The third was not to be accomplished in its entirety for several years, but the attempt to realize it resulted in the Louisiana purchase—an incident which has been

---

[21] *Ibid.*, I. 437-439.

called rightly the greatest diplomatic success recorded in American history, and an event which ranks in historical importance next to the Declaration of Independence and the adoption of the Constitution.[22]

Napoleon on the sale of Louisiana.—Monroe sailed from the United States on March 9, 1803, and arrived in Paris on April 12. Two days before he landed Napoleon called Marbois and another counselor to him and declared his intention of ceding Louisiana to the United States.

I know the full value of Louisiana [he said vehemently] and I have been desirous of repairing the fault of the French negotiator who abandoned it in 1763. A few lines of a treaty have restored it to me, and I have scarcely recovered it when I must expect to lose it. But if it escapes from me, it shall one day cost dearer to those who oblige me to strip myself of it than to those to whom I wish to deliver it. The English have successfully taken from France, Canada, Cape Breton, New Foundland, Nova Scotia, and the richest portions of Asia. They are engaged in exciting troubles in Santo Domingo. They shall not have the Mississippi which they covet. Louisiana is nothing in comparison with their conquests in all parts of the globe, and yet the jealousy they feel at the restoration of this colony to the sovereignty of France, acquaints me with their wish to take possession of it, and it is thus that they will begin the war. They have twenty ships of war in the Gulf of Mexico, they sail over these seas as sovereigns, whilst our affairs in Santo Domingo have been growing worse every day since the death of Leclerc. The conquest of Louisiana would be easy, if they only took the trouble to make a descent there. I have not a moment to lose in putting it out of their reach. I know not whether they are not already there. It is their usual course, and if I had been in their place, I would not have waited. I wish, if there is still time, to take from them any idea that they may have of ever possessing that colony. I think of ceding

[22] *Ibid.*, II. 2, 3 and 48, 49.

it to the United States. I can scarcely say that I cede it to them, for it is not yet in our possession. If, however, I leave the least time to our enemies, I shall only transmit an empty title to those republicans whose friendship I seek. They only ask of me one town in Louisiana, but I already consider the colony as entirely lost, and it appears to me that in the hands of this growing power, it will be more useful to the policy and even to the commerce of France, than if I should attempt to keep it.[23]

Marbois directed to sell Louisiana.—The discussion was continued into the night but no decision was reached. At daybreak on the following morning Napoleon received word that England was hastening preparations for renewal of the war. Summoning Marbois to him he reiterated his intention of parting with Louisiana.

It is not only New Orleans that I will cede, it is the whole colony without any reservation. I know the price of what I abandon, and I have sufficiently proved the importance that I attach to this province, since my first diplomatic act with Spain had for its object the recovery of it. I renounce it with the greatest regret. . . . I direct you to negotiate this affair with the envoys of the United States. Do not even await the arrival of Mr. Monroe; have an interview this very day with Mr. Livingstone; but I require a great deal of money for this war, and I would not like to commence it with new contributions. . . . If I should regulate my terms, according to the value of these vast regions to the United States, the indemnity would have no limits. I will be moderate in consideration of the necessity in which I am of making a sale. But keep this to yourself. I want fifty millions (francs), and for less than that sum I will not treat; I would rather make a desperate attempt to keep these fine countries.[24]

Negotiations begin.—Marbois did not see Livingstone on that day, but Talleyrand did. Livingstone had

[23] Barbé-Marbois, *The History of Louisiana*, 263, 264.
[24] *Ibid.*, 274, 275.

been in conference with Talleyrand for several weeks trying to purchase the island of Orleans and West Florida. On Monday, April 11, 1803, the day that Napoleon had placed the negotiations in Marbois's charge, Talleyrand asked Livingstone whether the United States would like the whole of Louisiana. Livingstone told him that the United States wanted only New Orleans and the Floridas, but that it might be to the interest of France to cede the country above the Arkansas River to his people in order to place a barrier between French territory and Canada. Talleyrand replied that if they gave New Orleans, the rest would be of little value and he would like to know what the United States would give for the whole. To this Livingstone refused to commit himself until he had had an opportunity to introduce Monroe.

Livingstone and Marbois confer.—On the night of April 13, two days later, Livingstone had a conversation with Marbois, the minister of the Treasury, which he considered so important that he thought it necessary to report it to Madison at once, while the impressions were strong upon his mind.[25] Until midnight the two men conversed. Marbois said that the First Consul, in a recent conference with him, had declared his readiness to part with the whole of the Louisiana territory to the United States provided that country would pay one hundred million francs and pay the claims of their own citizens. "Seeing, by my looks, that I was surprised at so extravagant a demand," wrote Livingstone, "he added that he considered the demand as exorbitant, and had told the First Consul that the thing was impossible; that we had not the means of raising that. The First Consul told him that we might borrow it. I now plainly saw the whole business: first,

[25] These letters are in the *American State Papers, Foreign Relations,* II. 552-554.

the Consul was disposed to sell; next, he distrusted Talleyrand, on account of the supposed intention to bribe, and meant to put the negotiations into the hands of Marbois, whose character for integrity is established." Livingstone assured Marbois that the United States was anxious to preserve peace with France; that his nation wished to remove the French inhabitants to the west side of the Mississippi; that the United States would be perfectly satisfied with New Orleans and the Floridas, and had no disposition to extend across the river; that, of course, they would not give any great sum for the purchase; that Marbois was right in his idea of the extreme exorbitancy of the demand; and that the United States would be ready to purchase, provided the sum was reduced to reasonable limits. Marbois then urged him to name the sum, but this Livingstone declined to do. The French minister, upon being urged to do so, then suggested as a fair price sixty million francs, in addition to which the United States should take upon itself the American claims to the amount of twenty million more.

While Livingstone urged the exorbitance of this demand he took particular pains to inquire whether France would stipulate never to possess the Floridas and would promise to aid the United States to procure them. Being assured by Marbois that the French government would do this, Livingstone closed the conversation by promising to confer with Monroe, assuring Marbois that the American representatives would do every reasonable thing to remove any cause for difference which might exist between the two countries.

Thus, sir, you see a negotiation is fairly opened [he exulted in concluding his communication to Madison] as to the quantum, I have yet made up no opinion. The field opened to us is infinitely larger than our instructions contemplated; the revenue increasing, and the land more than

adequate to sink the capital, should we even go the sum proposed by Marbois; nay I persuade myself that the whole sum may be raised by the sale of the territory west of the Mississippi, with the right of sovereignty, to some power in Europe, whose vicinity we should not fear. I speak now without reflection and without having seen Mr. Monroe as it was midnight when I left the treasury, and is now three o'clock. It is so very important that you should be apprised that a negotiation is actually opened, even before Mr. Monroe has been presented, in order to calm the tumult which the news of war will renew, that I have lost no time in communicating it. We shall do all we can to cheapen the purchase; but my present sentiment is that we shall buy.[26]

Napoleon's proposal.—True to his promise Livingstone worked hard for a reduction in the price. A week was spent in haggling over this, and a fortnight passed after Monroe's arrival without anything more definite having been accomplished. On April 23 the First Consul drew up a "*Project* of a Secret Convention" which was given by him to Marbois. For the purpose, among other things, of strengthening friendly relations between the two nations the French Republic according to this document was to cede Louisiana to the United States; in consequence of which cession, "Louisiana, its territory, and its proper dependencies shall become part of the American Union, and shall form successively one or more states on the terms of the Federal Constitution."[27] French commerce in Louisiana was to be given all the rights of American commerce with permanent *entrepôts* at six points along the Mississippi together with a permanent right of navigation. The United States was also to assume all debts to American citizens under the treaty of Monfontaine and was to pay France one hundred million

[26] *Ibid.*, 554.
[27] Quoted in Adams, *United States*, II. 40.

francs. Armed with this document on the afternoon of April 27, Marbois held a conference with Livingstone and Monroe in the rooms of the latter. Too unwell himself to sit at the table Monroe reclined on a sofa throughout the discussion.

A counter proposal.—The conversation was opened by Marbois who submitted Napoleon's *project.* After admitting that he thought it hard and unreasonable, he presented his own. The former demanded a total expense of one hundred and twenty million francs to the American government, the latter reduced the demand to eighty million. Livingstone was particularly anxious to settle this question of claims first and separately, but Monroe overruled him in this. The twenty-eighth of April was spent by the two American envoys in revising Marbois's *project,* and drawing up one of their own. On the following day they called upon the French minister and presented their proposal. In this they had suggested fifty millions as the amount to be given France, and twenty millions more on account of her debt to the citizens of the United States. But Marbois refused to proceed unless eighty million francs was accepted as the price, and the American commissioners finally yielded. Marbois took the revised document for a conference with Napoleon on April 30.

Monroe meets Napoleon.—On Sunday, May 1, Monroe was conducted to the Palace of the Louvre and presented by Livingstone to the First Consul whom he found in a genial and inquisitive frame of mind. "'You have been here fifteen days?' Napoleon asked. I told him I had. 'You speak French?' I replied, 'A little!' 'You had a good voyage?' 'Yes.' 'You came in a frigate?' 'No, in a merchant vessel charged for the purpose.' Then turning abruptly to the subject in which Monroe and Livingstone were particularly interested he assured them that their affair should

be settled, and left them. After dinner the First Consul again came to Monroe and inquired whether the Federal city grew much. I told him it did. 'How many inhabitants has it?' '. . . in itself it contains two or three thousand inhabitants.' 'Well, Mr. Jefferson, how old is he?' 'About sixty.' 'Is he married or single?' 'He is not married.' 'Then he is a *garçon.*' 'No, he is a widower.' 'Has he children?' 'Yes, two daughters who are married.' 'Does he reside in the Federal city?' 'Generally.' 'Are the public buildings there commodious, those for the Congress and President especially?' 'They are.' 'You Americans did brilliant things in the war with England, you will do the same again.' 'We shall, I am persuaded always behave well when it shall be our lot to be in war.' 'You may probably be in war with them again.' I replied that I did not know, that that was an important question to decide when there would be an occasion for it," [28] and so the conversation ended.

The treaty concluded.—On that same evening the two American envoys had a final discussion with Marbois. Some amendments were made to the treaty and a few minor changes were agreed upon. On May 2 the "treaty and convention for sixty millions of francs to France in the French language" was signed. The English copies were prepared and signed two or three days later. The convention affecting American claims was not signed, however, until about the eighth or ninth, and all these documents were antedated to April 30. But in the document thus agreed upon there was no attempt to define the boundaries of the property which changed hands. This subject was left for later diplomatic negotiations, and in the meantime American explorers, fur traders, and settlers were crossing

[28] Hamilton, Stanislaus Murray (Editor), *The Writings of James Monroe, Including a Collection of His Public and Private Papers and Correspondence Now for the First Time Printed,* 7 vols. New York, 1898-1903, IV. 13-16.

the Mississippi to seek adventure and furs and to build homes in the Trans-Mississippi West.

Bibliographical Notes

The Louisiana Purchase: An account of the purchase of Louisiana will be found in the general histories of the United States and in the different lives of Jefferson. The most satisfactory secondary accounts may be found in the following: Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America* (during the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison), 9 vols., New York, 1903-1904; Clarence W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country,* 1673-1818, Springfield, 1920; Edward Channing, *History of the United States* (5 vols. completed), New York, 1907-1921, Vol. IV; Ibid, *The Jeffersonian System* (Vol. XII of *The American Nation; a History*) New York, 1906; Binger Herman, *The Louisiana Purchase and Our Title West of the Rocky Mountains, with a Review of Annexation by the United States,* Washington, 1900; Thomas Maitland Marshall, *A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, 1819-1841* (University of California Publications in History, 1914); Frederick Austin Ogg, *The Opening of the Mississippi,* New York, 1904; C. F. Robertson, *The Louisiana Purchase in Its Influence Upon the American System,"* in The American Historical Association Papers, I.

Barbé-Marbois, *Histoire de la Louisiane et de la Cession de cette Colonie par la France aux Etats-Unis de L'Amérique Septentrionale; Précédée d'un discours sur la Constitution et le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis* (Paris, 1829, and the English translation, Philadelphia, 1830) is an attempt by one of the negotiators to defend the sale of the province. The *American State Papers, Foreign Relations,* II, and *Public Lands,* I, contain the documents on the American side of the subject. See also *State Papers and Correspondence bearing upon the Purchase of the Territory of Louisiana* in *House Documents, 57 Cong., 2d Sess., No. 431.*

Additional material may be found in Channing, Hart, and Turner, *Guide to the Study and Reading of American History,* Boston, 1912; J. N. Larned, *The Literature of American History, a Bibliographical Guide,* Boston, 1902; in the preface of Ogg, *Opening of the Mississippi,* and in the bibliographies to Everett S. Brown, *Constitutional History of the Louisiana Purchase,* Berkeley, 1920, and Marshall, *Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase.*

CHAPTER II

AMERICAN EXPLORATIONS WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI (1804–1822)

The country west of the Mississippi which was purchased from France in 1803 was practically unknown to the people who had acquired it. The American frontiersmen had learned something of its eastern fringe south of the fortieth parallel, but beyond and to the north was a field into which they had not penetrated. It was a land whence sounded the call to wild adventure and boundless solitude, and hither came many during the first quarter of the nineteenth century to satiate their restless spirits and to spy out the land. But preceding the American explorer into the Trans-Mississippi was the interest of the President under whose administration the purchase had been concluded.

Suggestions of American expedition to the Pacific.—Jefferson's desire to learn of the country which he had been instrumental in adding to the public domain of the United States antedates the Louisiana purchase by many years. Indeed as early as 1782 we find him endeavoring to obtain information in regard to the animal and vegetable life of the country.[1] A year later, while attending the Confederate Congress at Annapolis, he wrote to Rogers Clark: "I find they have subscribed a very large sum of money in England for exploring the country from the Mississippi to California. they pretend it is only to promote knolege. I am afraid they have thoughts of colonizing into that quarter. some of us have been talking here in a feeble

[1] *See* the letter to Steptoe, November 26, 1782, in Paul Leicester Ford (editor) *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson.* 10 vols. (N. Y., 1892-1899). III. 62.

way of making the attempt to search that country. but I doubt whether we have enough of that kind of spirit to raise the money. how would you like to lead such a party? tho I am afraid the prospect is not worth asking the question." [2] Three years later Jefferson met John Ledyard in Paris. This restless spirit lent a willing ear to the future President's hazardous suggestion, which was nothing less than to cross the dreary wastes of Siberia to Kamtchatka, thence to go by water "to the western side of America and penetrate through the continent to our side of it." [3] Ledyard exerted himself to carry out the project, but it failed because of the interference of the Russian government. In 1790 Captain John Armstrong of Louisville at the suggestion of the Secretary of War, General Knox, undertook to cross the continent by way of the Missouri, but he was turned back a short distance above St. Louis by reports of disturbances among the Indians. Two years later André Michaux, a French botanist, proposed an expedition to the Pacific to be conducted under the auspices of the American Philosophical Society. Jefferson gave the proposal his hearty support, but Michaux became entangled in Genet's plans for conquering Spanish Louisiana and the former's western project terminated with the events of 1794 which brought the Genet mission to such a sudden end.

Jefferson asks Congress to provide for expedition. —But these abortive schemes for exploring Spanish territory west of the Mississippi, while discouraging, were not sufficiently so to cause Jefferson to abandon the project. After he was elected president his attempts were more successful. On January 18, 1803, he proposed an expedition and outlined plans for it in a confidential message to Congress.

[2] Thwaites, Reuben Gold (editor), *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806.* VII. Part I, 193.

[3] Ford (editor), *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* IV. 298, 447, 448.

An intelligent officer, with ten or twelve chosen men, fit for the enterprise and willing to undertake it, taken from our posts where they may be spared without inconvenience, might explore the whole line, even to the Western Ocean, have conferences with the natives on the subject of commercial intercourse, get admission among them for our traders as others are admitted, agree on convenient depositis for an interchange of articles, and return with the information acquired in the course of two summers. Their arms and accouterments, some instruments of observation, and light and cheap presents for the Indians would be all the apparatus they could carry, and with an expectation of a soldier's portion of land on their return would constitute the whole expense. Their pay would be going on whether here or there. While other civilized nations have encountered great expense to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge by undertaking voyages of discovery . . . in various parts and directions, our nation seems to owe it to the same object, as well as its own interests, to explore this the only line of easy communication across the continent, and so directly traversing our own part of it. . . . The appropriation of $2,500 "for the purpose of extending the external commerce of the United States," while understood and considered by the Executive as giving the legislative sanction, would cover the undertaking from notice and prevent the obstructions which interested individuals might otherwise previously prepare in its way.[4]

Meriwether Lewis selected to head company.—Congress passed a bill complying with Jefferson's recommendations for sending out an exploring expedition into the Far West and Captain Meriwether Lewis, a young man under thirty years old, was selected to head the enterprise. Lewis was Jefferson's private secretary. He was born in Albemarle County, Virginia, in the vicinity of the Blue Ridge, and had in-

[4] Richardson, James D., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897*. Published by authority of Congress (1900), I. 353, 354.

herited sterling qualities from a race of worthy patriots and vigorous pioneers. His father and uncle had served in the Revolutionary War, and he himself had been accustomed to the life of the hunter and woodsman and had rendered military service in the Northwest under the leadership of Mad Anthony Wayne. Jefferson considered him a man of exceptional courage, "possessing a firmness and perseverance of purpose which nothing but impossibilities could divert from its direction; careful as a father of those committed to his charge, yet steady in the maintenance of order and discipline; intimate with the Indian character, customs, and principles; habituated to the hunting life; guarded by exact observation of the vegetables and animals of his own country, against losing time in the description of objects already possessed; scrupulous that whatever he should report would be as certain as if seen by ourselves—with all these qualifications, as if selected and implanted by nature in one body for this express purpose, I could have no hesitation in confiding the enterprise to him." [5] In order to acquire additional technical training in botany and astronomy which an expedition such as he was to lead demanded, he went to Philadelphia and studied under the direction of some of the learned members of the Philosophical Society. While there he also directed the manufacture of arms for his party in the arsenal at Lancaster.

Lewis assisted by William Clark.—Complying with the suggestion made by Lewis the officials at Washington decided to associate with him another officer of equal authority, so that the party could operate effectually in two divisions if the occasion should require it. He was permitted to select his own companion and chose William Clark of Louisville, the younger

[5] *Original Journal of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806,* I. Part I, 25, 26.

brother of George Rogers Clark. William Clark, like Lewis, was an army officer who had seen trying service against the Indians of the Northwest. He had traveled extensively in the country, having on several occasions crossed the Mississippi. He was in every respect admirably suited to share with Lewis the responsibilities and labors of such an undertaking as the government had decided upon. Lewis ranked as captain while Clark's commission gave him the rank of second lieutenant of artillery, but the former insisted on regarding the latter as his official equal, both being styled as captain by all who were connected with the expedition. During the three strenuous years of western explorations their respect for each other deepened and their friendship strengthened.

Jefferson's instructions to Lewis.—The object of the expedition was outlined by Jefferson in his instructions to Lewis dated May and June, 1803. Not only was the Missouri River to be explored but "such principal streams of it, as, by its course and communication with the waters of the Pacific Ocean, whether the Columbia, Oregon, or Colorado, or any other river, may offer the most direct and practical water communication across the continent for the purpose of commerce." The party was to take observations fixing the latitude and longitude of all important places along the rivers traversed, and of all the portages between their headwaters. The leaders were ordered to keep careful notes and other members of the expedition were encouraged to keep diaries. The names and numbers of the various Indian tribes were to be learned, and all conditions tending to promote trade and harmony between them and the Americans were to be noted. Careful observations were to be made of the soils, animal and vegetable life, minerals, geological remains, and of the geography of the region. Should they reach the Pacific Ocean they were to de-

termine "whether the furs of those parts may not be collected as advantageously at the head of the Missouri . . . as at Nootka Sound or any other point of that coast; and that trade be consequently conducted through the Missouri and the United States more beneficially than by the circumnavigation now practised." Furthermore Lewis was to try to find some vessel by which he could send back two members of the party with the information collected. Or if he thought it advisable the entire party might return by sea, in which case Lewis was to make use of an open letter of credit furnished by Jefferson and pledging the faith of the United States for the repayment of such sums as might be advanced to the explorers. The safety of the party was not to be endangered, however, for the sake of collecting information.[6]

Meanwhile Louisiana had become a possession of the United States and the expedition was no longer a movement into foreign territory.

Lewis left Washington for Pittsburg about the middle of the summer of 1803 and on the last day of August began the descent of the Ohio. Volunteers were enlisted at several military stations along the Ohio and the Mississippi. When completed the party contained a total of thirty-two people and sixteen others were employed to accompany the expedition as far as the Mandan villages. The winter was spent in quarters on a little stream, the Dubois or Wood River, which empties into the Mississippi from the east side. Here the men were drilled and trained for the arduous experiences which they were about to undertake.

Expedition leaves St. Louis, May, 1804.—On May 14, 1804, the expedition entered the Missouri and began the long voyage up that river. The difficulties and dangers of the journey were recognized by all who

[6] Ford, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, VIII. 194 ff.

were connected with it from the beginning, but they believed also that it would confer high honors on them and on the nation if it were carried out successfully. The importance of the expedition was realized likewise by the people living along the Missouri. The people of St. Louis and of St. Charles and many others who had migrated thither recently from east of the Mississippi manifested a deep interest in the small company as it made its way up the tortuous stream. On the twenty-fifth of May the party passed the extreme western settlement. This was La Charette, a little village of seven houses, near which Daniel Boone lived.[7] Thence the journey was through the Indian country and occasionally, during the early stage of their passage up the Missouri, they met traders who were bringing down boatloads of furs from the Kansas, the Platte, and the Sioux. Near the present town of Sibley, Missouri, a fort was erected and named Fort Clark in honor of one of the leaders of the expedition.[8] Continuing up the river they came to a place named by them Council Bluffs where they held a great conference with several Indian tribes. They passed the present site of Sioux City on the twentieth of August, where they experienced their only loss by death, and toward the end of October the little company reached the Mandan villages.

Reaches the Pacific.—Here near the present town of Bismarck, North Dakota, Fort Mandan was erected from cottonwood logs found growing along the river

[7] The village had disappeared when Bradbury was there in 1811, because of the encroachments of the river. It was near the present town of Marthasville in Warren County. *See* Bradbury, John, "Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811," etc. in Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*, V. 42, note 15.

[8] McDougal, H. C., "Historical Sketch of Kansas City from the beginning to 1909." In the *Missouri Historical Review* for October, 1909, 12, 13.

In 1808 the name Fort Clark was changed to Fort Osage in honor of the Indian tribe of that name. For another account of this fort *see* Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, V. 60, note 31.

banks. Five months were spent in hunting, preparing reports and collecting information to be sent back to the President in the spring, cultivating friendly relations with the Indians, among whom British influence was established, and completing preparations for the westward movement. Early in April, 1805, the river having become clear of ice, a boat was sent downstream bearing dispatches for the officials at Washington while the main party headed their expedition up the Missouri. Toward the end of the month they reached the mouth of the Yellowstone. From the natives of that section they collected information on the source, direction, and length of the river, and the character of the country through which it flowed. Game was found in greater abundance than they had experienced before and the large number of beaver in the vicinity led them to suggest that some spot near the junction of the two rivers would be a desirable location for a trading post. The Falls of the Missouri were reached in June and on the twenty-fifth of that month they arrived at the three forks of the same river. The three rivers were explored and named after the three prominent statesmen of that day, Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin. Up the Jefferson they toiled, weary, footsore, and some of them almost exhausted, finally reaching the mountains on the last of August. Horses were procured from the Shoshone Indians, parties of whom were found in the vicinity, and they pushed on toward the navigable waters of the Columbia system. This they reached by following the Lolo trail to the Clearwater after three weeks of toilsome marching through dense woods and shady defiles and over what must have seemed to them to be numberless obstructions of rock and fallen timber. From the Clearwater they made their way to the Snake River, down that to the Columbia, past the Great Falls, the Dalles, and the Cascades to the tide water. On the

seventh of November, 1805, the party reached the Pacific.

Return and results of expedition.—They spent the winter in the most humid section of the Oregon coast. The supply of game was not abundant, but the members of the expedition continued to enjoy good health. Early in the spring of 1806 they began moving eastward, and on September 23 following the entire party entered St. Louis. They had recrossed the mountains by the same general route but had made more extensive explorations of considerable importance off the original trail. For example Clark had descended the Yellowstone River. They had opened a practical route across the continent, they had established a strong claim for the valley of the Columbia, and they had become the pioneers of a westward movement which ultimately was to carry the customs and institutions of the United States across the great plains and over the rocky plateau until it gave the nation a frontage on the Pacific slope similar to the one it had already on the Atlantic coast.

Explorations in southern part of Louisiana Territory.—Before Lewis and Clark left St. Louis on their transcontinental journey Jefferson had begun perfecting plans to explore the southern part of the newly acquired territory. In fact the original intention appears to have been to employ several parties who should explore various parts of the purchase. Jefferson made a distinction between the object of the Lewis and Clark expedition and the others which were to be more restricted in their operations.

> The object of your mission is single [he wrote Lewis on November 16, 1803] the direct water communication from sea to sea formed by the bed of the Missouri and perhaps the Oregon. I have proposed in conversation, and it seems generally assented to, that Congress appropriate ten or

twelve thousand dollars for exploring the principal waters of the Mississippi and the Missouri. In that case I should send a party up the Red River to its head, then to cross over to the head of the Arkansas and come down that. A second party for the Panis (Platte) and Padouca (Kansas), and a third, perhaps, for the Morsigona (Des Moines) and St. Peters (Minnesota). This (exploration) will be attempted distinctly from your mission, which we consider of major importance. . . .[9]

The new task was to be carried out by a group of men, the most prominent of whom were William Dunbar, George Hunter, John Sibley, and Thomas Freeman. As a result of Jefferson's personal influence the subject was recommended to Congress by a committee of that body in March, 1804. Funds were appropriated to meet the expenses of the undertaking, but the results were disappointing. Fairly complete scientific explorations were made of the Washita by Dunbar and Hunter, and Freeman ascended the Red River about six hundred miles, but this was the extent of the work accomplished. Explorations which had been originally planned to include the entire courses of streams flowing into the Mississippi and Missouri rivers were restricted to limits hardly beyond the frontier line and almost entirely within the present boundary of the state of Louisiana.[10]

Pike's mission to upper Mississippi.—Another expedition was led to the upper Mississippi by Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike under the auspices of the War Department. According to his instructions which were dated July 30, 1805,[11] Pike was to explore

[9] Quoted in Isaac J. Cox, "Explorations of the Louisiana Frontier, 1803-1806," in The American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1904, 153, note b.

[10] *Ibid.*, 151-174.

[11] These are given in *American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, I. 942 and in Elliott Coues (editor) *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, 3 vols., New York, 1895. II. 842-844.

the source of the Mississippi River and to procure information concerning its main tributaries. Negotiations with the various Indian tribes were to be undertaken and Pike was to use every effort to establish peace among them, fur-trading conditions were to be studied, and land cessions were to be obtained with a view to establishing forts and factories. Pike believed an important part of his duty was to assert the authority of the United States in this border country and to enforce regulations in respect to the fur trade. His action in this matter was carried out with so much vigor that this became the most important feature of his expedition.

Northwest Company in possession of country.—Pike's explorations covered the period from August 9, 1805, to April 30, 1806. The first part of the voyage to Prairie du Chien was made in a keel boat and then a flat-bottomed bateau and a light barge transported the party to the Falls of St. Anthony and to Little Falls respectively. The main party was left in winter quarters at the latter place while Pike and two companions traveled seven hundred miles farther in canoes and sledges to Cass Lake. The Northwest Company was in complete possession of the field in this section. From their trading posts at Sauk Rapids, Sandy Lake, and Leach Lake their furs were readily transported to Lake Superior and Montreal whence they found easy access to the markets in Europe and the United States. On the St. Peters (Minnesota) Murdock Cameron was prosecuting an independent business.

Pike insists authority of United States be recognized.—With both the independent trader and with the representatives of the Northwest Company the young Lieutenant dealt firmly. Cameron and La Jeunesse were selling liquor to the Indians and were both reprimanded. The associates of the Northwest

Company were generally cordial and extended generous hospitality to him, but this did not prevent Pike from reminding them that they must show greater respect to the government in whose country they were operating. They were told to quit distributing medals among the Indians and disseminating ideas among them that were hostile to the interests of the United States. At Sandy Lake he found the British flag flying over the fort, and his feeling of indignation was relieved but little when he was informed that it belonged to the Indians.[12]

In order that the United States might more easily enforce such regulations and laws as applied to the operation of the fur trade in these remote possessions, Pike recommended that government factories be established at the mouth of the Wisconsin, at the Falls of St. Anthony, on the St. Peters, and on the St. Louis River at the head of Lake Superior. He also urged the importance of settling the northern boundary upon the basis of the Lake of the Woods as early as possible, in order to prevent the British from claiming two-fifths of Louisiana.[13]

His estimate of what he had accomplished.—In letters to Wilkinson dated April 18 and July 2, 1806, Pike gave an account of what he had accomplished. He mistakenly thought he had reached the source of the Mississippi. He said he had explored the region bordering upon that river and the Red River of the North. He had substituted the sovereignty of the United States for that of Great Britain. He had established peace between the Sioux and the Chippewas. He had prepared reports on the Indians and on the geography of the country. The list of services which

[12] Coues (editor), *Pike*, I. 133.

[13] Isaac J. Cox, *The Early Explorations of Louisiana*, University of Cincinnati Studies, 1906, 104.

he noted was a fairly long one and after allowance is made for exaggerations, it is one of which he could be justly proud.

Proposed tour of the Southwest.—Pike reached St. Louis on his return April 30, 1806. While in the midst of preparing his reports he received a proposal from Wilkinson to undertake a tour to the far Southwest. It was an invitation which the ambitious Lieutenant accepted eagerly and he hastened his preparations for departure.

Instructions.—His first official instructions were issued June 24, 1806.[14] He was to escort some returning Indians to the Osage River, was then to attempt to establish peace between the Kansas and Osage Indians, and was to hold a conference with the Comanches and try to persuade some of them to visit Washington. Careful observations were to be made of the country drained by the Arkansas and the Red rivers. On July 12 following, Wilkinson issued additional instructions urging his subordinate to depart immediately.

The trip across the plains.—Pike left St. Louis on July 15 with a company of twenty-three men, besides fifty-one Indians returning to their homes on the Osage and Republican rivers. He made his way up the Missouri and Osage rivers to the Pawnee villages. In the meantime news of his expedition reached the Spanish officials and Lieutenant Malgares was sent out from Santa Fé to intercept him. The Spaniards had come first to the Pawnee villages and when Pike arrived there they had already turned back. Despite the great superiority of the Spanish forces the American commander determined to follow them, hoping thereby to reach the Red River. He came to Pawnee Rock on

---

[14] Coues (editor), *Pike*, II. 562-565. For a discussion of the instructions and of the motives which induced Wilkinson to send the expedition *see* Cox, *Early Explorations of Louisiana*, Chapter XI.

Great Bend of the Arkansas and rode up that eam through droves of buffalo, deer, elk, and wild rses until he finally reached the mountains. Near present town of Pueblo, Colorado, he erected for- cations and explored the country. After a vain at- npt to reach the top of Pike's Peak he began to rch for the source of the Red River. He ascended Arkansas as far as the present site of Cañon City, d thence made a detour to its source near Leadville. inking he had found the Red River he descended stream until he came upon one of his former en- mpments. He did not know that the Canadian and not the Red had its source near Santa Fé. The months of December and January spent in this way were most severe. The passes were filled with snow, game was scarce, guns burst with cold, the horses were exhausted, and the men were becoming mutinous, but Pike refused to abandon the quest.

Pike enters Spanish territory.—On Grape Creek at the foot of the Grand Cañon of the Arkansas he decided to build a blockhouse and leave two of the men there to look after the horses and luggage while with the main party he crossed the Sangre de Cristo Range. In this desperate venture nine of his men had their feet frozen. The food supply which they carried with them was soon exhausted and game seemed to have left the country. The party was saved from starvation after having been four days without food when Pike managed to shoot a stray buffalo. Three of the men gave out and were left on the trail with a small supply of meat while the others struggled on. He reached the River Conejos, a western tributary of the Rio Grande on February 1, 1807, and began the erection of a stockade five miles above the mouth of the stream. He claimed that the building was to serve as a protection against the Indians while the abandoned companions were brought up and game was being

killed. Pike with four soldiers remained at the stockade while a small detachment was sent back over their route to bring up the men and baggage left behind.

Robinson's mission.—In 1804 Baptiste Lalande had been sent on a trading expedition to Santa Fé by William Morrison of Kaskaskia. In September of the following year Lalande applied in person at Chihuahua for New Mexican citizenship, but meanwhile he had made no remittance or report to Morrison for the goods which he had brought to Santa Fé. Pike was requested to collect the debt and used this as a pretext to enter Santa Fé.[15] On February 7, 1807, he sent Dr. John H. Robinson who had joined the expedition as a volunteer to collect Morrison's claim and incidentally to learn what he could of New Mexico. Robinson was well treated by the Spanish officials at Santa Fé, but was sent farther into the Spanish territory—"a policy that, as long as he was kindly treated, accorded only too well with the American's wishes."[16]

On February 16, 1807, Pike was visited in his stockade by two Spaniards. This was the first result of Robinson's mission. Ten days later Captain Salteo appeared with one hundred mounted men and took the Anglo-Americans to Santa Fé. After being examined there by Governor Alencaster they were sent on to Chihuahua where they underwent another examination. The matter was finally settled by Salcedo's determining to deport them by way of Texas, and their enforced tour ended on July 1 at the American encampment at Natchitoches. Pike had collected a mass of information which presented the Southwest in a new light to the prospective trader and adventurer.

Period of inactivity.—These explorations had not been sufficiently extensive to carry out the original

---

[15] Cox, *Early Explorations of Louisiana*, 117, 118, 126.
[16] *Ibid.*, 126.

plans outlined by Jefferson in 1803, but with the return of Pike and Lewis and Clark a great deal had been done to extend the knowledge of the country acquired from France. If all the principal streams flowing into the Mississippi and Missouri had not been explored, at least the country itself had been penetrated in its northern and southern parts. But the President was not in a position to prosecute the work with the same vigor after this time. Foreign problems and Jefferson's own peculiar method of settling them had placed his administration in a contemptible light abroad and was bringing upon him the growing wrath of his opponents at home. This was the condition as his second term came to an end. The man upon whom his mantle fell inherited these problems while they were still multiplying, and the rising spirit of the West under the direction of Henry Clay played its part in the overthrow of peaceable coercion and a declaration of war.

War Department decides to build post on upper Mississippi.—The events leading up to the War of 1812 and the war itself absorbed the interests and energies of the administration so completely that little attention could be given to the western country. Before the expiration of his second term, however, Madison appointed a committee consisting of four Americans and a French engineer of distinction, General Bernard, to examine the coast and the inland frontier for the purpose of determining their needs. During the summer of 1817 Major Stephen H. Long led an exploring expedition up the Mississippi to sketch the course of that stream and select places for forts. He recommended three sites as desirable locations for military posts: one at the lower end of Lake Pepin, a second south of the St. Croix, and a third just above the mouth of the St. Peters. Secretary of War Calhoun determined to fortify the last of these and in the summer of

1818 preparations were begun for executing his plans. The post, according to the Secretary of War, "from its remoteness from our settlements, its proximity to Lord Selkirk's establishment on Red River of Lake Winnipeg, and from its neighborhood to the powerful nations of the Sioux, ought to be made very strong." [17]

Fort Snelling established.—For the purpose of executing Calhoun's plans the War Department issued orders to Major-General Jacob Brown, the commander of the division in the North, which resulted in the initial move being taken. The task was assigned to Colonel Leavenworth. Having made all necessary preparations he conducted his men from Prairie du Chien up the Mississippi and reached the mouth of the St. Peters (Minnesota) River toward the last of August. By the fall of 1822 Fort St. Anthony had been completed. The name was changed later to Fort Snelling in honor of Josiah Snelling who had succeeded Colonel Leavenworth.

Plans for fort at Mandan villages.—By the summer of 1818 Calhoun had determined to build a post on the Missouri River at the Mandan villages. This particular site was chosen because it afforded certain advantages for counteracting British influences among the Indians. It would be particularly well situated to compete with "the British post on the Red River." [18] The command of the expedition whose duty it was to carry out these plans was given to Colonel Atkinson. Calhoun's instructions to him are dated March 27, 1819. The "two great objects" of the expedition, the Secretary of War asserted, were "the enlargement and protection of our fur trade, and permanent peace of our North Western frontier by the establishment of

---

[17] J. Franklin Jameson (editor), "Private Correspondence of John C. Calhoun" in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1899, II. 148.
[18] American Historical Association, *Annual Reports*, 1899, II. 134-136.

a decided control over the various tribes of Indians in that quarter." Of the two the latter was considered the more important. As long as American fur traders were obeying regulations they were to be protected. Foreigners were to be treated discreetly until the military posts were well established, then notice should be given that after a fixed period foreign trade would be rigidly excluded. Particularly was Atkinson to avoid hostilities with the Indians if possible. If hostilities should occur and additional forces were necessary, he was informed that troops at the mouth of the St. Peters River might be called to his command.

On December 2, 1818, the government made a contract with Colonel James Johnson to transport the troops and provisions up the Missouri. He provided five steamboats, but none of them accomplished the purpose for which they were intended. Two probably never entered the river, a third abandoned the trip thirty miles below Franklin, and the other two wintered at Cow Island a little below the mouth of the Kansas and returned to St. Louis in the spring. Despite the delays occasioned by the government's attempt to use steamboats instead of the more practical keel-boats, Atkinson succeeded in getting his troops as far as Council Bluffs by September, 1819, where they experienced a disastrous winter from an attack of scurvy.

The scientific expedition.—The scientific branch of the expedition was under the command of Major Stephen H. Long. A special boat had been constructed for the members of this division which proved to be more practical than the vessels provided by Colonel Johnson. The wheels had been placed in the stern and the boat drew only nineteen inches of water. Even the "absurd attempts at ornamentation" served the purpose intended. Not only the Indians but the frontier settlers themselves were profoundly impressed with

this "apparent monster" bearing "a painted vessel on his back, the sides gaping with portholes and bristling with guns." [19]

The result was that Long and his party found themselves the center of considerable interest as they steamed up the Missouri. At Franklin where a stop of a week was made they were entertained with a genuine frontier hospitality. Despite the delay occasioned by this, Long's boat, which had left St. Louis in June some time after the other vessels, passed them all and was the only one to arrive at Council Bluffs, reaching there in September, 1819. Major Long remained a short time and returned to Washington.

Congress investigates.—Here opposition to the entire expedition was soon to develop. On December 21, 1819, on motion of John Cocke of Tennessee, the committee on military affairs was ordered to find out what the expedition had already cost the government, what sums would be required in order to accomplish the objects intended, and what those objects were. It was in response to these demands that several papers were submitted to Congress on January 3, 1820, by Chairman Smyth of that committee, among them Calhoun's report on the Yellowstone expedition. The report was tabled. On January 24 following, Cocke submitted another resolution directing that the secretary of war be ordered to report to the House an itemized statement of the money paid Colonel Johnson and of the amount claimed by him under the contract of December 2, 1818. The attempt to table the resolution failed. Calhoun submitted the data required on February 3 and it was referred to the committee on military affairs.[20]

---

[19] Chittenden, Hiram Martin, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, 3 vols., New York, 1902. II. 571.

[20] *Annals of Congress, 16th Cong., 1st Sess.*, I. 1047; *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, II. 68, 69.

Calhoun continues to plan.—Four days later, February 7, 1820, the Secretary of War wrote to Colonel Atkinson. Among other things Calhoun commended the leader for his management of the expedition and approved his plans for connecting posts on the frontier by opening roads between them. While the use of steamboats for transporting troops and provisions was left to the judgment of Colonel Atkinson, Calhoun thought it would add dignity to the expedition and that it might serve to impress the British and the Indians with the power of the United States if such vessels could be used.

Congress refuses to provide funds.—These plans, however, were not to be carried out. Cocke's opposition developed strength and Congress finally refused to supply the necessary funds. As a "half-hearted apology to the public for its failure," says Chittenden, "a small side show was organized for the season of 1820 in the form of an expedition to the Rocky Mountains." This was placed under the command of Major Long.

Major Long's expedition as substitute.—The meager equipment of his company when compared with the expedition he had conducted up the Missouri was indeed discouraging. In this change in the character of the expedition at the head of which he had been placed may be found psychological reasons for the wholesale condemnation of the far western country by Major Long.

The reorganized expedition consisting of twenty men left the Missouri at Council Bluffs on June 6, 1820. At the Pawnee village on the Loup River they visited the Indians and employed two Frenchmen as guides and interpreters. Two days were spent among the Indians before the party resumed their westward journey. From the vicinity of Grand Island the route followed the north bank of the Platte to the forks

whence they crossed to the south bank of the South Fork.

In Colorado.—The company had left the Indian villages on June 13. On the thirtieth of that month they came within sight of the Rockies. They had hoped to celebrate the Fourth of July in the mountains, but in this they were disappointed. On the fifth they camped on the present site of the city of Denver and on the sixth directly in front of the chasm through which issues the South Platte. Two days were spent here while a vain attempt was made to cross the first range and reach the Platte on the other side. However, they did succeed in attaining an elevation from which they could distinguish the two forks of that river. On July 12 the camp was made a few miles south of Colorado Springs. From here James, the chronicler of the expedition, accompanied by two men, ascended Pike's Peak. This was probably the first time the top was reached by white men, and Long called the mountain James's Peak in honor of the achievement, but the name has not been accepted. The height of the mountain above the plain was properly estimated by Lieutenant Swift, but the height of the basal plains above sea level was inaccurately made so that an error of nearly three thousand feet in the determination of the elevation of the summit above sea level was the result. The observations for longitude and latitude here as elsewhere were erroneous.

Expedition divides.—The party broke camp July 16 and moved southwest to the Arkansas, coming to that stream twelve or fifteen miles above the present city of Pueblo. On the following day four members of the party went up the river to the entrance of the Royal Gorge at Cañon City, but they turned back baffled again by what seemed to them to be impassable barriers. Two days later, on the nineteenth, the whole expedition moved down the Arkansas. At the end of

another two days camp was made a few miles above the later site of La Junta, Colorado. Following instructions from the war department the party was divided in two and preparations were made for exploring the courses of both the Arkansas and the Red. Long commanded the more important of the two divisions down the latter stream, while the former, having been examined already by Pike, was explored by Captain Bell and his division.

Long's division fails to find Red River.—Major Long's division left the Arkansas on July 24, crossed Purgatory Creek and the upper waters of the Cimarron River, and after six days came to a small tributary of the Canadian River. Nearly a week later they came to the last named stream near the present boundary of Texas and New Mexico. The members of the party believed that they had reached the Red River, and naturally so because they came upon the Canadian in the region where the Red was supposed to rise. But the stream deviated from the course which the Red was supposed to follow and the party became doubtful. They were not convinced of their error, however, until they arrived at the junction of the Arkansas and Canadian rivers. The journey down the latter stream had been made amidst almost constant suffering caused by exposure to violent storms and excessive heat, by lack of an adequate supply of food and water, by annoying attacks of wood ticks, and by occasional encounters with bands of unfriendly Kaskaia and Comanche Indians. Despite these obstacles the party arrived at Fort Smith on September 13. This was the meeting place which had been previously determined upon, and Long found Bell's division awaiting him upon his arrival.

Divisions meet at Fort Smith and descend Arkansas.—The commander of the Arkansas expedition had experienced difficulties and hardships scarcely less try-

ing than those encountered by Long. On a night in August (the thirteenth) three soldiers deserted, taking with them all the manuscripts which had been prepared by Dr. Say and Lieutenant Swift since leaving the Missouri. These contained notes on the animals examined, a journal of the expedition, considerable topographical data, besides information on the customs, manners, history, and languages of the Indian. To add to their discouragement they went astray. This occurred soon after passing the Great Bend when they mistook the Ne-Ne-Seah for the Negracka or Salt Fork of the Arkansas. Other similar errors added to their bewilderment and for some time they did not know just how to reach the appointed rendezvous. But finally they met a band of friendly Osage Indians near the Verdigris River on September 1 who were able to give them information, and they reached Fort Smith on the ninth of the same month.

The entire expedition descended the river to the Cherokee towns on Illinois Creek in Pope County, Arkansas. From here they proceeded overland to Cape Girardeau in Missouri. Two members of the party went from the Cherokee towns to Hot Springs, Arkansas, and returned to the Arkansas River at Little Rock whence they also crossed the country to Cape Girardeau. Here all members of the expedition met on October 12, 1820, and a little later they were disbanded.[21]

The Magee-Kearny expedition.—While Long and his party were exploring the country west of the Missouri another expedition was sent out from Council Bluffs in the opposite direction for the purpose of opening a road between that place and the military post on

---

[21] James, Edwin, "An account of an Expedition from Pittsburg to the Rocky Mountains, 1819-1820" in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1840,* Cleveland, 1905. XIV, XV, XVI, XVII.

the Mississippi at the mouth of the St. Peters River. This was led by Captain Magee of the rifle regiment. Accompanying the party were Lieutenant-Colonel Morgan and Captain Kearny. It is to the latter that we are indebted for our knowledge of the undertaking.

From Council Bluffs to Camp Cold Water.—The party required twenty-three days to make the trip. Leaving Camp Missouri on July 2, 1820, they followed a route leading in a general northeasterly direction, veering occasionally to the east or to the north, finally arriving at Camp Cold Water on July 25. "Our circuitous and wavering route (which is to be attributed to the guide's advice . . .)," noted Kearny, "the immense prairies we have crossed; the want of timber which we for several days at a time experienced; the little water that in some parts was to be found; the high and precipitous mountains and hills which we have climbed over, render that road impracticable and almost impassable for more than very small bodies." [22]

Unofficial explorers.—The explorations noted above were made directly or indirectly under the auspices of the government at Washington. They were official in character. There had been many Anglo-American explorers in the Trans-Mississippi, however, who had no official connection whatever with the government of the United States. Sometimes they were scientists like Bradbury and Brackenridge and Schoolcraft and Nuttall; or again they might be adventurers or traders or both such as John Shaw and John Fonda and Jacob Fowler. All of these men completed explorations into the western country within the limits of the period under consideration. It becomes necessary, therefore, to turn from the official to the unofficial explorations, and the men whose names have just been mentioned

[22] "Journal of Stephen Watts Kearny," Valentine M. Porter (editor), in Missouri Historical Society, *Collections*, III. 8 ff. A map of the route which Magee followed will be found in this volume.

will be considered in a somewhat different order from that which is given above.

Bradbury, Brackenridge, and Shaw were in the Trans-Mississippi West before the War of 1812. They followed chronologically Lewis and Clark, Dunbar, Hunter, Sibley, Freeman, and Pike.

Expeditions of Bradbury and Brackenridge.—John Bradbury, who was a naturalist and traveler, arrived in the United States in the summer of 1809, bearing a commission from the Botanical Society at Liverpool to make an examination of plant life in America. The president of the society had provided Bradbury with a letter of introduction to Jefferson as a result of which he visited Monticello. Following a brief visit Bradbury started for St. Louis, arriving there the last day of the year 1809, carrying with him a letter of commendation from Jefferson to Meriwether Lewis. St. Louis became the center from which the naturalist made a number of short excursions. He was planning to move south to the Arkansas country when he met Hunt, the leader of the overland Astorian expedition. He received an invitation to accompany the expedition and immediately decided to do so. The larger part of Bradbury's journal is occupied with a description of his tour with Hunt's party up the Missouri. He went by boat to the Arikara villages several hundred miles from St. Louis and then accompanied Ramsay Crooks to the fur-trading station among the Mandans about two hundred miles farther up the river. Upon his return to the Arikara villages he found the members of his party busily engaged in preparing to continue their journey to the Pacific. Manuel Lisa, in his second trip up the Missouri, had overtaken Hunt and with the former had come Henry M. Brackenridge, a friend of Bradbury's. Lisa and

Brackenridge were about to return to St. Louis and Bradbury decided to accompany them.[23]

Bradbury had made his excursion into the West in the interest of science. Brackenridge was seeking merely pleasure and adventure. Colonel John Shaw, whose explorations covered an entirely different area, combined the experiences of the adventurer with those of the fur trader.

Colonel John Shaw.—Colonel Shaw was one of the early pioneers of Wisconsin, a man whose integrity and honesty have been vouched for by some of his fellow countrymen. The editor of the Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, Dr. Draper, through whose hands Colonel Shaw's narrative passed, tells us that it may be considered substantially correct. His account was written from memory when he was an old man and therefore allowance must be made for dates. But the internal evidence of that part of his narrative outlined here, will indicate that his explorations were made not only before the War of 1812, but pretty near the time he claims to have made them.[24]

Shaw's explorations.—Colonel Shaw says that he spent the winter of 1808 in St. Louis and its vicinity. During the following spring, accompanied by Peter Spear and William Miller, he set out from the extreme western settlement of Cape Girardeau County on the headwaters of the St. Francis River for the Pacific Ocean. He thinks his route was very near the thirty-seventh parallel, or perhaps a half degree south of it. He crossed a branch of the White River which he claims to have named the Current. Proceeding westward he came to the Black, afterwards called the Spring, which stream he followed to its source. Cross-

---

[23] For an account of these expeditions *see* Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, 32 vols., Cleveland, 1904-1907, V, VI.

[24] Col. John Shaw, "Personal Narrative," in the Wisconsin Historical Society, *Collections*, II. 197-232.

ing to the main fork of the White River he then made his way to the prairie country. He continued westward, he thought, beyond the headwaters of all the tributaries of the Mississippi except the Missouri and Arkansas rivers, a distance of about eight hundred miles or more. When within the vicinity of the Rocky Mountains, he met three traders who were the survivors of a company of fifteen that had been trading among the Indians. They told him that a band of warriors was on the plains at no great distance and urged him to turn back. But disregarding their advice he continued his journey until within sight of the Indians. Convinced that discretion was the better part of valor he then decided to retrace his steps.

The autumn of 1809, the year 1810, and the winter of 1810 to 1811 were spent by Shaw in hunting in eastern Kansas and western Missouri and Arkansas. During this period he collected "fifty beaver and otter skins, and eight hundred gallons of bear oil." These were carried to the headwaters of the White River, transported in rudely constructed boats down that stream to the Mississippi, and thence to New Orleans. These products would have brought him between two and three thousand dollars, he thought, if he had been able to ship them to Europe, but the "Embargo" [25] was in force, he said, and he was compelled to sell his commodities for thirty-six dollars.

On his return he passed through the Chickasaw and the Choctaw country to Colbert's Ferry on the Tennessee, thence to Vincennes, and finally to St. Louis. He was in the vicinity of New Madrid when the earthquakes occurred there, he claims, on December 14, 1811, and February 7, 1812. Soon after this he went to Prairie du Chien and made Wisconsin his home during the remainder of a long and useful life.

[25] This was of course impossible if we accept the dates which he has given.

Expedition of Henry Schoolcraft.—The exploring expedition led by Henry Schoolcraft covered the period from November 6, 1818, to February 4, 1819. His object was to "traverse the plains and mountain elevations west of the Mississippi, which had once echoed the tramp of the squadrons of De Soto—to range over hills and through rugged defiles, which he had once searched in the hope of finding mines of gold and silver rivaling those of Mexico and Peru. . . ." [26]

The route.—The members of the little company organized and began their explorations into the West from the frontier village of Potosi in the present county of Washington, Missouri. They traveled in a "west-south-west" direction until they passed successively the Big and Little Fork of the White River. Continuing in the same general direction they terminated their westward movement near the headwaters of the White River in north-western Arkansas. Schoolcraft determined to descend this stream. He purchased a large canoe from some hunters who had established themselves at Beaver Creek in the solitude of the Ozarks. Selecting from their packs such things as were considered essential and loading the canoe with necessary provisions the company began the descent of the stream. This was January 9, 1819. Schoolcraft was intoxicated with the new method of travel. "The very change from traversing weary plains and prairies and ascending steep cliffs, was exhilarating and delightful." Then, too, the stream and the country through which it flowed drew hearty commendations of approval from the young explorer. The White River was "one of the most beautiful and enchanting streams, and by far the most transparent, which discharge their waters into the Mississippi. To a width and depth

[26] Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe, *Scenes and Adventures in the Semi-Alpine Region of the Ozark Mountains of Missouri and Arkansas, which were First Traversed by De Soto in 1541.* Philadelphia, 1853, V.

which entitle it to be classed as a river of the third magnitude in Western America, it unites a current which possesses the purity of crystal, with a strength and gentle flow, and the most imposing, diversified, and delightful scenery."

Schoolcraft descended the White River to a point occupied by "twelve or fourteen buildings of all sorts" which formed a small village "now (1853) called Batesville; being the only one which had been encountered since leaving Potosi." Thence he made his way overland to the point of his departure feeling that he had accomplished a trip of considerable peril, through a noted mountain range, into which all but one of his original party had failed to accompany him. It was with the spirit of a conqueror therefore that he returned to the familiar acquaintances of Potosi.

Nuttall's western explorations.—While Schoolcraft was descending the White River, Nuttall made his way by boat up that stream and through a connecting bayou, sometimes referred to as the "White River cut off" to Arkansas Post. Here he received a cordial reception from one of the leading settlers of the Post, an old Canadian by the name of Bougie or Bogy. The settlement consisted of thirty or forty houses and the place was a center for the trade of the Arkansas and White river valleys. As already indicated the settlement of the region did not proceed so rapidly as otherwise it probably would have done because of the uncertain titles to the land in the vicinity. The same thing interfered with the improvement of the land by settlers who were there. Most of the large grants were invalidated by Congress (1847-1848), among them the Winter's grant.[27]

---

[27] Nuttall, Thomas, "A Journal of Travel into the Arkansas Territory during the year 1819, with Occasional Observations on the Manners of the Aborigines," in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* Philadelphia, 1821. XIII. 106-107, 112.

A few weeks were spent in and around the post, and during the last of February Nuttall again resumed his westward journey. He was told that the country to the Cadron, a distance of about three hundred miles by water, was pretty well settled, particularly along the northern shore of the river. The greatest uninhabited area was said not to exceed thirty miles in distance. By March 12 he had reached the site of the present city of Pine Bluff. On the morning of that same day he passed white men who were descending the river with cargoes of furs which they had collected among the Osage Indians. Eight days later found him in the vicinity of Little Rock. Fairly well-defined roads extended from the neighborhood of Little Rock to St. Louis in one direction and to Natchitoches in another. Continuing up the river and passing many homesteads along its banks, Nuttall came to the little settlement of Cadron about thirty-eight miles above Little Rock, on March 27. Although an attempt was made to build a town on the site and the place became the seat of justice for Pulaski County in 1820, Nuttall estimated the possibilities for development accurately when he wrote, "I greatly doubt whether a town of any consequence on the Arkansas will ever be chosen on this site." The place has entirely disappeared,[28] although at that time it was on one of the main routes of travel from St. Louis and the settlements on the White River to Hot Springs and to the Red River settlements.

From the Cadron country Nuttall continued his westward journey up the Arkansas through the Dardanelle settlement and through the Cherokee country to the post at Fort Smith. He arrived at the latter on April 24. The fort consisted of two blockhouses and lines of cabins which accommodated seventy men

[28] *Ibid.*, 156, note 133 and 157, 158.

and was located on an elevation of fifty feet at the junction of the Pottoe with the Arkansas. More than two weeks were spent in exploring the surrounding country. It was at the season when wild flowers were to be found in profusion and Nuttall fairly reveled in these numerous excursions which familiarized him with the flora of the country.

From the Arkansas to the Red and return.—On May 16 Major Bradford conducted a company of soldiers across the country to the junction of the Kiamitia and Red rivers. The government had ordered that the whites living west of Kiamitia be moved to the east of that stream, the former territory being reserved for the Osage Indians. The purpose of Major Bradford's expedition was to execute this order and Nuttall was permitted to accompany the party. Proceeding in a general southwestern direction the members of the expedition reached their destination on the Red River fifteen miles above the mouth of the Kiamitia on the twenty-fourth of May. Here Bradford spent two days carrying out his orders, and on the twenty-sixth began the return journey. Nuttall accompanied the party for a short distance but became lost when he lingered behind to collect some new and curious plants which he found scattered over the "enchanting prairies." His intense interest in his botanical pursuits and the rich fields of new varieties of flowers which he found made him almost forget his situation, "cast away as I was amidst the refuse of society." "These people," he continued in his characterization of the settlers, "as well as the generality of those who, till lately, inhabited the banks of the Arkansas, bear the worst moral character imaginable, being many of them renegades from justice, and such as have forfeited the esteem of civilized society." [29] It is only

[29] *Ibid.*, 221, 222.

fair to say, however, that Nuttall did not intend to class all the people living in that section as "renegades from justice." He spoke in the highest terms of his host and hostess and declared that he would never forget the "sincere kindness and unfeigned hospitality" which he experienced from these "poor and honest people." [30]

Along the Arkansas.—Finally on June 14 Nuttall found three men who were apparently trustworthy and who were leaving the Red River settlement for the purpose of recovering some stolen horses from the Cherokees. This afforded him the opportunity he had been seeking and he joined them. The return journey was a tedious one but the little party made good time and Nuttall reached Fort Smith on the twenty-first. He remained there until July 6. On that day he secured passage on board a boat which was leaving for a trading post situated near the mouth of the Verdigris about one hundred and thirty miles up the Arkansas River. The expedition arrived at the latter point on the fourteenth. Nuttall spent a few weeks exploring the surrounding country and he gives considerable space in his *Journal* to a description of this and of the Osage Indians who inhabited the region. He thought the "irresistible tide of western emigration" would ultimately lead to the establishment of a town near the confluence of the Verdigris, Grand, and Arkansas rivers—a prediction which has been fulfilled by the growth of Fort Gibson in that vicinity.

Nuttall's explorations completed.—The final stage of Nuttall's journey began on August 11. He left the trading post at the mouth of the Verdigris with a hunter by the name of Lee for a guide, his objective being the Cimarron River. He could not have realized the difficulties which such a trip necessarily en-

[30] *Ibid.*, 218, 221-223.

tailed at that season of the year. The streams were stagnant, the heat was intense, the water was foul, the food was poor, and the night dews were exceedingly disagreeable. Nuttall soon contracted a fever which came near proving fatal. Then, too, the Indians were a source of annoyance and danger. The guide suggested that they return to the Verdigris, but his chief refused to turn back. When they at last reached the Cimarron, Nuttall's fever had improved and an attempt was made to ascend the river, but he was compelled to abandon the scheme when he lost one of his two horses. A canoe was then built in which the guide started downstream while Nuttall rode the remaining horse. It was found, however, that the horse could not keep up with the canoe and they then decided to separate despite the greater danger from Indians which they were sure to experience alone. Nuttall arrived at the mouth of the Verdigris on September 15 physically exhausted. He remained there a week and proceeded to Fort Smith where another forced halt was made. Finally on October 16 he started down the Arkansas and arrived at New Orleans on February 18, 1820.

The wanderings of Jacob Fowler.—Among the accounts of explorations in the Trans-Mississippi West there are few more curious and interesting narratives than the *Journal* of Jacob Fowler. The capitalization, punctuation, spelling, and grammar are indeed amusingly crude, but his story is straightforward and intelligible. He was a keener and a more accurate observer than the majority of the men who have left accounts of the West.

Fowler left Fort Smith on September 6, 1821. His route was along the Arkansas River except a short cut-off by way of the Verdigris trail. He experienced no difficulty from the Indians until he came to Walnut Creek. A horse was stolen from the party there and

the Indians appeared "more unfriendly and talk Sasy and bad to us but this Is to be Exspected as the(y) Come from other vileges."[31] Fowler continued his journey up the Arkansas River to Pueblo, Colorado. A member of his party killed by a bear near the mouth of the Purgatory or Las Animas River was probably the first American to be buried in Colorado soil. Dr. Coues thinks that Fowler built "the first habitable and inhabited house" within the limits of the present city of Pueblo. From the latter place, on January 30, 1822, the party visited the Spanish settlements in New Mexico. On the preceding day Fowler had heard that the Mexican province had declared its independence and wished to open trade relations with the United States. This doubtless encouraged him to enter that country as soon as possible.

He crossed the Sangre de Cristo range between Sheep and Veta mountains on February 4 and four days later came to the pueblo of Taos. The people of the village were wretchedly poor and the company found it impossible to get supplies. The inhabitants said that their crops had been destroyed by grasshoppers during the two preceding years which made it necessary for them to transport grain for their bread a distance of more than one hundred miles. Meat was also scarce among them, so much so that they attempted to purchase some from Fowler, but he declined to sell because he had nothing but meat for his own men and not too much of that. But these conditions did not prevent the people from enjoying themselves. On the evening following Fowler's arrival the men and women of the village came to his house where a fandango was held.

Pinch of hunger.—Dissatisfied with the place and unable to secure necessary supplies Fowler left Taos

[31] Coues, Elliott (editor), *The Journal of Jacob Fowler,* etc., N. Y., 1898.

on February 12, 1822, with his men. They proceeded west to the Rio Grande and ascended the river, occasionally trapping for beaver as they moved northward. Game was scarce and the men soon began to suffer from hunger from which "Taylor and Pall (a negro who accompanied the expedition) Began to Complain," the former growing "black In the face" and the latter "getting White With the Same Complaint and the(y) both thaught the Hors Shold be Killed." Jacob and Robert Fowler consented to this at last, but both decided to hunt while others of the party made ready the horse flesh. The hunters returned to camp with two deer while the men were skinning the horse. The carcass of the latter was thrown away and the party soon had "Suntious (sumptuous) feest and much Pleasntness. . . . Round the fier tho We lamented the fate of the Poor Hors." More game was killed and by the end of February the men found themselves temporarily well supplied with provisions.

Return route.—Fowler spent the spring months hunting and trapping on the upper Rio Grande. On June 1, 1822, he joined the James and McKnight expedition from Santa Fé for the return trip to the states. Crossing the mountains eastward by the Taos pass the party started for home by a different route from that over which they had come to Taos. They left the watershed of the Rio Grande for that of the Arkansas, crossing the New Mexico line into Colorado at the point where later the Denver, Texas, and Fort Worth railroad was to cross it, about longitude 103° 50′ west and latitude 37° north. Upon reaching the vicinity of the extreme western end of the Mesa de Maya in Las Animas County, Colorado, they probably followed an approximately straight line to Coolidge, Kansas, situated on the Arkansas River near the boundary line between Colorado and Kansas. They then came down the Arkansas, taking a short cut-off in the vicin-

ity of Ford, Kansas, to the neighborhood of Raymond in Rice County.

Near this place the party left the Arkansas River and started across the country toward the east. On June 21, members of James's expedition were sighted making their way down the Arkansas. Fowler and his companions passed through the northern part of Harvey and Butler counties, crossing the northern boundary of the latter into Chase County near modern Thurman. Passing the headwaters of the Verdigris they struck the Neosho about eight miles a little south of east of the present city of Emporia, Kansas. Here Fowler said was one of the best tracts of land for settlement that he had seen. Not only was there plenty of fertile land, but the supply of water and timber was ample. Thence the party moved in a general northeastern direction passing close to or through modern Lyndon in Osage County. Continuing through or passing near the present cities of Baldwin and Olathe, Kansas, the company crossed the Missouri-Kansas boundary a little south of Kansas City and came to Fort Osage on July 5, 1822. After a short rest they proceeded down the Missouri River in canoes to St. Louis. At the latter place the men separated and Fowler returned by steamboat to his home in Kentucky, arriving there on July 27 after an absence of "thirteen months and thirteen days."

Western explorations of Fonda.—Fonda's western explorations began at Natchez. Following the regular route he crossed to Natchitoches and thence to Fort Towson, in the southeastern part of the present state of Oklahoma. Here they camped near a small stream which Fonda says was called La Bontte Run,[32] and the

[32] Fort Towson is on Gates Creek (Century Atlas), a small stream which flows into the Red River near the mouth of the Kiamitia River. This was undoubtedly the stream which Fonda calls Le Bontte Run.

For a more complete account of Fonda's explorations *see* Goodwin,

emigrants utilized the time to rest and to perfect their plans. The main party determined to settle in Mexican territory but Fonda remained with a Scotchman who had taken a Choctaw squaw for a wife and kept a trading post "on the head waters of the Sabine River." Here he remained throughout the winter of 1819, and in the following summer conducted a successful business expedition to New Orleans for his employer. During the fall and winter of 1820 he clerked for the Scotchman and occasionally tried to engage in the Indian trade on his own account, but this was opposed by his employer who desired to maintain a business monopoly among the Indians of that section. Despite this opposition Fonda made a few successful fur trading "excursions" among the Shawnee and Osage Indians, but he later grew tired of the life and decided to take up his travels toward the west.

From Fort Towson to Santa Fe.—In the spring of 1823 "soon after the grass was well up" Fonda left for Santa Fé "along with two fellows who had come up from New Orleans." He rode "a mustang colt" and placed his "trappings on board an old pack-mule." They traveled west "to the source of the Red River, through the Comanche country, north to the forks of the Canadian River where we took the old Santa Fé trail, which led us over and through the southern spur of the Rocky Mountains, to Santa Fé, where we arrived without any of those thrilling adventures, or Indian fights, that form the burden of many travelers' stories."

They saw no Indians at all except a party of "Kioways" with whom Fonda tried to carry on trade.

The route.—The exact route which Fonda took from the source of the Red River to Santa Fé is difficult to determine. Of course he did not reach the forks of

Cardinal, "John H. Fonda's Explorations in the Southwest" in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, July, 1919.

the Canadian if he went to the source of the Red River and there turned north. The forks of the Canadian are almost north of Fort Towson, the point from which he probably started. He may be referring to the forks made by the union of Mustang Creek with the Canadian River in northwestern Texas. It is equally certain that he did not strike the Santa Fé trail at the point where it crossed the Canadian River. He doubtless reached the Canadian River when he turned north from the Red at the mouth of Mustang Creek as already indicated or at the mouth of Major Long's Creek. Here he probably came upon "the much frequented Indian trail crossing the creek, from the west, and following down along the east bank" [33] to which Long refers. This he probably thought was the Santa Fé trail. If he took the route thus indicated he went west along the Canadian, finally reaching San Miguel, whence he followed the Santa Fé trail to Santa Fé.

Description of Taos.—Soon after arriving in Santa Fé Fonda lost track of his traveling companions. He then went to Taos where he spent the winter of 1823 and 1824. Here he found a town in which the "houses were all one story high, and built of clay or large gray brick." The inhabitants were Spaniards, Mexicans, "Indians, a mixed breed," and a few trappers. The town was a "lively wintering place, and many were the fandangoes, frolics, and fights which came off" during the winter.

By May, 1824, Fonda had become thoroughly disgusted with Taos and its inhabitants, "for the latter were a lazy, dirty, ignorant set, and as a whole, possessed less honor than the beggarly Winnebagoes about Prairie du Chien, at the present time" (1858).

---

[33] James, Edwin (compiler), *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburg to the Rocky Mountains, performed in the years 1819 and 1820, by order of the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, Sec'y of War; under the command of Major Stephen H. Long*, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1823, II. 94.

Leaving Taos, Fonda returned to Santa Fé where he found a company of traders who were preparing to cross the plains to Missouri. He soon became acquainted with a man by the name of Campbell who was a merchant from St. Louis. The latter engaged the explorer "to oversee the loading and unloading of his three wagons, whenever it was necessary to cross a stream, which frequently happened."

The trip from Santa Fé to St. Louis proved to be "a hard journey," and one that Fonda "never cared to repeat." The "caravan of wagons, cattle, oxen, horses, mules left Santa Fé in good condition," but many of them died before the company reached the Missouri River—the animals from thirst and exhaustion, and the men from sickness and disease. The survivors reached St. Louis in October.

Bibliographical Notes

Such general accounts of American explorations of the Trans-Mississippi as come within this period are confined almost entirely to the well-known official explorations of Lewis and Clark, Pike, and Long. Accounts of some or all of these may be found in the following: Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America,* 9 vols., New York, 1903-1904, III; Edward Channing, *The Jeffersonian System, 1801-1811,* New York, 1906; Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West,* 3 vols., New York, 1902; Katharine Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West; How We Won the Land Beyond the Mississippi,* 2 vols., New York, 1912; Isaac Joslin Cox, *The Early Explorations of Louisiana* (1906); Cardinal Goodwin, "A Larger View of the Yellowstone Expedition" in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* December, 1917; John Bach McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States,* 8 vols., New York, 1883-1913, III and VII; Reuben Gold Thwaites, *A Brief History of the Rocky Mountain Exploration with Especial Reference to the Expedition of Lewis and Clark,* New York, 1914.

The journals of the various expeditions afford the most satisfactory sources of information. The editions used have been cited in the footnotes. Reuben Gold Thwaites (editor), *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806, Printed from*

the Original Manuscripts in the Library of the American Philosophical Society and by Direction of its Committee on Historical Documents together with Manuscript Material of Lewis and Clark from other Sources, including Note-books, Letters, Maps, etc., and the Journals of Charles Floyd and Joseph Whitehouse now for the first Time Published in Full and Exactly as written. 7 vols. and an Atlas, New York, 1904-1905. Each volume is divided into two parts and each part is bound separately, making fifteen volumes including the Atlas. Other editions are listed in Channing, Hart, and Turner's *Guide to the Study and Reading of American History* (1912), 97. Herbert E. Bolton (editor), "Papers of Zebulon M. Pike" in the *American Historical Review* for July, 1908, contains some of the papers taken from Pike in 1807 by the Spanish authorities at Chihuahua. Some valuable material on explorations may be found in Reuben Gold Thwaites (editor), *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846,* 32 vols., Cleveland, 1904-1907. The title pages vary according to the contents of the several volumes. Volumes XXXI and XXXII are indexes.

For further reading consult Channing, Hart, and Turner's *Guide;* J. N. Larned, *The Literature of American History;* Henry R. Wagner, *The Plains and the Rockies, a Bibliography of Original Narrative of Travel and Adventure, 1800-1865,* San Francisco, 1921; and the bibliography in I. J. Cox, *Early Explorations of Louisiana* (University of Cincinnati Studies, 1906). The bibliographical note on "Explorations" in Channing, *The Jeffersonian System* (1906), 279-282, gives an excellent account of the various editions of the journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition.

CHAPTER III

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE AND THE ADJUSTMENT OF BOUNDARIES TO 1821

Surrender of Louisiana to the United States.—The formal surrender of Louisiana to the United States took place at two different points along the Mississippi. Before a crowd of people that filled the Cabildo, Peter Clement Laussat delivered the keys of New Orleans to William C. C. Claiborne, the agent of the United States government, and absolved the subjects of France from further allegiance to the First Consul. Claiborne then welcomed them as citizens of the United States and assured them that they would be protected in their liberty, property, and religion, and that their agriculture and commerce would be fostered and encouraged in every way possible. This was in December, 1803. Upper Louisiana was surrendered at St. Louis in a much less formal manner. Major Amos Stoddard was chosen by the French Republic as its representative, and on March 9, 1804, he received the territory from the Spanish representatives, surrendering it the next day to officials of the United States.

Public sentiment and the cession.—The transfer of Louisiana to the United States brought keen disappointment to the majority of people living in the territory. The inhabitants of New Orleans were particularly incensed at the new order of things. Not only did the official sent out by the Congress of the United States have no knowledge of their language, customs, and laws, but he lacked personal interest in the prosperity of the community. Laussat, however, who remained in the country a few months after the cession, understood that such sentiments could not last. He also

appreciated fully what the Americans had gained and what France had lost.

The Americans [he said] have given fifteen millions of dollars for Louisiana; they would have given sixty rather than not possess it. They will receive one million of dollars for duties, at the customhouse in New Orleans, during the present year, a sum exceeding the interest of their money, without taking into consideration the value of the very great quantity of vacant lands. As to the twelve years during which our vessels are to be received on the footing of national ones, they present but an illusive prospect, considering the war and the impossibility of our being able to enter into competition with their merchantmen. Besides, all will in a short time turn to the advantage of English manufactures, by the great means this place will exclusively enjoy, from its situation, to supply the Spanish colonies as far as the equator. In a few years, the country, as far as the *Rio Bravo* will be in a state of cultivation. New Orleans will then have a population of from thirty to fifty thousand souls; and the new territory will produce sugar enough for the supply of North America and a part of Europe; let us not dissimulate; in a few years the existing prejudice will be worn off, the inhabitants will gradually become Americans by the introduction of native Americans and Englishmen, a system already begun. Many of the present inhabitants will leave the country in disgust; those who have large fortunes will retire to the mother country; a great proportion will remove into the Spanish settlements; and the remaining few will be lost amidst the newcomers. Should no fortunate amelioration of political events intervene, what a magnificent Nouvelle France have we lost. The Creoles and French established here unite in favor of France, and can not be persuaded that the convention for the cession of Louisiana is anything but a political trick; they think that it will return under the dominion of France.[1]

[1] Quoted in Martin, François Xavier, *History of Louisiana* (1882 ed.), 322.

On March 26, 1804, sixteen days after the surrender of Upper Louisiana to the United States, Congress passed an act dividing the cession into two parts. The "Territory of Orleans" included roughly what later was to constitute the state of Louisiana, and the remainder of the purchase was called the "District of Louisiana." Such a division, however, was keenly resented by the older population. It had always been a unit, the settlers contended, and it was as a whole and not as a mutilated territory "that it was to be received into the Confederacy *as soon as possible,* according to the terms of the treaty of cession."[2]

Population in 1803.—A few people in the community did not share such opinions. They were the Americans. To them the transfer was a welcome change. It is not possible to say how many there were or what per cent of the population they composed. Indeed the exact population of the territory at the time of the cession is not known. By 1800 Upper Louisiana contained forty-nine hundred and forty-nine people, and Louisiana by 1798 had approximately twenty-seven thousand inhabitants.[3] The consul of the United States located at New Orleans compiled a rude census in 1803 from such sources as he could procure for the Department of State. According to this report the total population of the territory was 49,473.[4] To New Orleans was given a population of 8,056. "Tehoupitoulas" contained 7,444. The populations of other districts were much smaller while the districts themselves were large.

---

[2] Gayarré, Charles, *History of Louisiana, American Domination,* 2-5.

[3] Viles, "Population and Extent of Settlement in Missouri before 1804," in *Missouri Historical Review,* V. 197, 199, 204, 207. *See also* Mattie A. Hatcher, "The Louisiana Background of the Colonization of Texas, 1763-1803" in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* January, 1921. 194.

[4] The population is given for various districts. *See* Martin, *History of Louisiana,* 300, for a copy of the report.

It should be repeated that these figures at best are only approximate, and they evidently included the West Florida country. The white settlers were few and they were confined to the banks of the Mississippi and its principal tributaries from New Orleans to St. Charles. The vast stretches of country to the west and to the north were still unoccupied. In fact they were practically unknown to the government that had just become the owner of the country. Even the boundaries of the territory acquired were undetermined. The purpose of this chapter is to trace briefly the movement of American settlers into the region and to give an account of the adjustment of the boundaries of the territory purchased.

Movement of American Settlers into Upper Louisiana.—It is a well-known fact that Americans had begun to cross the Mississippi into both the Territory of Orleans and the District of Louisiana before the end of the eighteenth century and that in some localities they had begun to dominate the affairs of the community. Upper Louisiana had been divided into five administrative districts. St. Charles, the most northern of these and including the territory between the Missouri and the Mississippi, was settled largely by the French at the time of the Louisiana Purchase. There were a few Americans living in the district. They were not in the villages but in scattered and detached farmsteads along the Cuivre River, and the Dardenne and Perruque creeks which flowed into the Mississippi, and along La Charette and Femme Osage creeks, tributaries to the Missouri. The valley of the Dardenne drew the largest number of Americans in this district. The St. Louis district, just south of the St. Charles and including the country between the Missouri River and the Meramec, had also been occupied to some extent by Americans in 1803. They had not sought the villages which were occupied mostly by the French, but had

located on homesteads along the creeks flowing into the Missouri and Meramec rivers, and along the banks of the latter stream.

In the district of the Ste. Genevieve was located the best known of the American settlements. It was near modern Potosi and called Mine à Breton or Burton. Lead had been discovered there in 1775 and the permanent settlement probably dates from that time. It became prominent with the appearance of Moses Austin. He visited the mines of Ste. Genevieve in 1796 and received a grant of land. Two years later he returned to Virginia and brought his family. At modern Farmington and Fredericktown in the St. François valley settlements were begun about the same time. Up to 1799 the increase of population in Ste. Genevieve district was slow, but during the five years ending in 1804 the number of people grew from 1,156 to 2,870. The most prosperous communities in Upper Louisiana were to be found here.

Morgan's proposed colony.—In the last two districts, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid, the Americans were in the majority. Most of the people in the former district came from Tennessee and North Carolina and many of them were of German or German-Swiss descent. It was in the New Madrid district and at New Madrid, or L'Anee à la Graise as it was first called, that Colonel George Morgan of Virginia attempted to found an American colony in 1789. Elaborate plans were drawn up for a large town here. Morgan was thoroughly familiar with conditions in the country west of the Alleghenies as far as the Mississippi, he had suffered reverses at home, and in this remote western country he thought he saw an opportunity to recover his losses by establishing a colony. He took up the matter with the Spanish ambassador at Washington, Gardoqui, who promised to support him. A grant of approximately fifteen millions of acres of

land extending along the Mississippi for three hundred miles from the mouth of the St. François River to modern Perry County, Missouri, was assured him for the undertaking. Morgan thoughtfully provided conditions which would give his settlers certain guaranties, such as the right of local self-government and exemption from nearly all taxation, and then with the permission of the Spanish minister secured, Morgan started west to advertise his project and examine his claim. With a large company of men collected *en route,* he made his way down the Ohio to its mouth, arriving at the latter place February 14, 1789, and crossed to the west side of the Mississippi. He then made a trip to St. Louis to deliver a letter to the Spanish commandant from Gardoqui and returned to begin laying out the new town which he had already planned. It was to be four miles long and two wide, with generous allowances made for both parks and streets. To each of the first six hundred settlers who came were to be offered a city lot of one-half acre and one outlying lot of five acres. Cabins were erected and magazines for provisions were built, gardens were laid out, and preparations were made for immediately putting one hundred acres into cultivation. Land sufficient for three hundred and fifty families was to be platted into farms of three hundred and twenty acres each for prospective settlers. It was expected that these liberal inducements would draw to the new colony a thousand families annually.

The plans did not materialize. The approval of Miró, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, could not be gained. Why? It may have been due to intrigues to dissolve the American Union in which Miró and the United States commander, Wilkinson, were involved, and which they felt could not be carried through successfully if Morgan's plans were permitted to materialize. Or it may have been that Miró feared that

too many Americans would be brought into Spanish territory.[5]

Results of Morgan's work.—Despite the failure of Morgan's program the work he did was a potent factor in the American settlement of Upper Louisiana. In the first place the majority of the people who came with him remained as permanent settlers. In the second, the extensive advertising which he did drew many other Americans to the country. A little later, when Spain offered exceptional inducements to prospective emigrants to come into the country, the interest of citizens of the United States was the more easily aroused because of the publicity campaign which Morgan had conducted.

Summary of settlements in Upper Louisiana 1804.—The distribution of settlements in Upper Louisiana by 1804 may be briefly summarized. They were to be found along the Mississippi from the extreme southeastern corner of the present state of Missouri to New Madrid and from the mouth of the Ohio north to Cape Girardeau. In the low lands between these points the only settled area of importance was the long, narrow ridge stretching north from New Madrid. In the town and along the river to the southward, Americans and French lived side by side; the other settlements were largely American. The strip along the river from Cape Girardeau nearly to the Meramec was settled only at the mouths of the creeks and along their courses, and in the lowlands at Ste. Genevieve and Bois Brule within the boundaries of present Perry County, Missouri. The settlements were mostly

[5] Houck, Louis, *The Spanish Régime in Missouri; A Collection of Papers and Documents Relating to Upper Louisiana Principally within the Present Limits of Missouri during the Dominion of Spain, from the Archives of the Indies at Seville, etc. Translated from the Original Spanish into English, and Including also some Papers Concerning the supposed Grant to Col. George Morgan at the mouth of the Ohio Found in the Congressional Library*, 2 vols., Chicago, 1909, I. 275 ff. *See also* Violette, *A History of Missouri*, 39-51.

French except those on the northern creeks. In the rolling uplands of what are now Cape Girardeau and Perry counties there were settlements which differed very little from typical American settlements in Kentucky and Tennessee. The lower Meramec was an American district and between the Meramec and the Missouri settlements were to be found wherever water and timber existed. On the Meramec and on the Missouri above St. Charles the Americans were in the majority, but at St. Louis the French dominated affairs. Over the rest of the district the two races mingled on a nearly equal basis, the French usually outnumbering the Americans in the villages. North of the Missouri the French occupied the villages of St. Charles and Portage des Sioux and the Americans settled on the creeks flowing into the Mississippi and the Missouri.

It will be rightly concluded from what has been said that the Americans were living in small groups and on detached farms, except at New Madrid, and that commerce and industry were almost entirely in the hands of the French. The French also dominated government and politics. The Americanization of Upper Louisiana had hardly begun despite the fact that the majority of the settlers were of American origin.[6] However, the population was so sparse and so widely scattered and the future immigrants were so sure to be Americans that French dominance could not be expected to last long.

Population of the Territory of Orleans.—This could not be said of the Territory of Orleans. Here the country available for settlement was more restricted and the larger population had a French element sufficiently strong to give a permanent Gallic coloring to certain phases of the life of the people. We have seen already

[6] Viles, "The Population and Extent of Settlement in Missouri before 1804" in the *Missouri Historical Review*, 1910-1911. V. 187-213.

that the report of the American consul at New Orleans in 1803 gave the southern territory a population of less than 50,000. Three years later a census was taken. The final reports indicated a population of 52,998, of whom 23,574 were slaves and 3,355 were free people of color. This would leave a white population of 26,069, of whom 13,500 were natives of the United States and the remainder of native French, Spanish, English, German, and Irish extraction. These figures were reported to the Secretary of State by Claiborne and were declared to be approximately correct. Between 1806 and 1809 the number of immigrants had not been large; "it may have given us an increase of between three and four thousand free persons, two-thirds of whom are native Americans." The Governor expected a large addition to the French population within a few weeks, however. There had been a number of people recently banished from Cuba who were expected to seek an asylum in Louisiana.[7]

Internal problems.—The unsettled condition in Santo Domingo and the invasion of Spain by France were followed by a large immigration into Louisiana in 1809. They had begun to arrive in New Orleans by early summer, some with their slaves and such other property as they could bring, and others in utter destitution. They did not receive a cordial welcome from some of the inhabitants of Louisiana, but they continued to come throughout the summer. Before the first of August, 5,754 of them had landed at New Orleans. Of these 1,798 were white people, 1,977 were free people of color, and 1,979 were slaves. The admission of slaves from foreign countries was against the law, but Claiborne found ways of disregarding it.[8]

[7] Gayarré, Charles, *History of Louisiana, American Domination,* 211 ff. The data on population is taken from this letter.

[8] See Claiborne's letter to the Mayor of New Orleans quoted in *ibid.,* 215.

Throughout the months of summer and fall they continued to come and with their arrival came problems for the governor. Many were "of doubtful character and desperate fortunes and many, probably, would become willing instruments in the hands of those unprincipled, intriguing individuals who would wish to disturb the peace and union of the American States." [9] Apparently this was particularly true of the later arrivals. The difficulties of the territorial administration, however, were not confined to maintaining a semblance of order among a people who were hostile to the officers and among whom there was a strong lawless element. The price of food had become exorbitant, house rent increased in the same proportion, and by the end of November suffering had become intense and widespread.

West Florida declares its independence.—During the following year (1810) Claiborne's responsibilities were increased by the annexation of West Florida. There were many American settlers in the district who had been citizens of various states in the Union. They had felt an increasing desire to be annexed to their country, and Madison, who succeeded Jefferson as the chief executive, was in sympathy with any move which would give the United States access to the Gulf. Indeed it had been claimed as part of the Louisiana purchase. Its position had been rendered still more difficult because it had become a retreat for fugitive slaves from Orleans and Mississippi territories, and the right of slave owners to invade the country and seize their slaves had been called in question by Spanish authorities. The fact that the territory was a retreat for outlaws and renegades from justice added to the confusion in this disputed district. Within the territory an attempted revolution had already indicated the prevalent

[9] *Ibid.*, 220.

discontent, and finally, in 1810, when the overthrow of the Bourbons had induced Spanish provinces in the West to seek independence through revolution, a movement was initiated in West Florida to establish the independence of that province. A convention was called and drew up a declaration of independence, the sophistry of which is amusing when one remembers that Americans dominated the convention:

> It is known to the world with what fidelity the people of this Territory have professed and maintained allegiance to their legitimate sovereign, while any hope remained of receiving from him protection for their property and lives.
>
> Without making any unnecessary innovation in the established principles of the Government, we had voluntarily adopted certain regulations, in concert with our First Magistrate, for the express purpose of preserving this Territory, and showing our attachment to the Government which had heretofore protected us. This compact, which was entered into with good faith on our part, will forever remain an honorable testimony of our upright intentions and inviolable fidelity to our King and parent country while so much as a shadow of legitimate authority remained to be exercised over us.[10]

Following the declaration of independence the people of West Florida elected a governor. They had scarcely begun their independent career when President Madison intervened by ordering Claiborne to take possession of the territory in the name of the United States. In December, 1810, this was accomplished. The newly elected governor consented to withdraw his claims, but Mobile and the country east of the Pearl River remained in the hands of the Spaniards until

---

[10] *Annals of Congress, 11th Cong., 3d Sess.*, Appendix, 1254. Governor de Lassus of West Florida, it had been learned, was secretly requesting Governor Folch of Pensacola to send an armed force to quell insurrection in West Florida. It was said that this roused the Americans and led to the convention and declaration of independence.

they were driven out in 1813 during the war between the United States and England.[11]

Admission of Orleans into Union opposed.—The Territory of Orleans was to be admitted into the Union as a state as soon as the population numbered sixty thousand. Before the census of 1810 was taken the territorial legislature addressed a memorial to Congress seeking admission on an equal footing with the original states. This document was sent to the Secretary of State at Washington by Governor Claiborne on May 18, 1809, with a recommendation that the request be refused.[12] The census of 1810 showed that the population had passed the sixty-thousand mark. In the following year a member of the House of Representatives introduced the subject by declaring that Orleans should be admitted into the Union. The discussion which followed became exceedingly bitter at times, and the opponents of the proposal were unrelenting in opposition. Said Josiah Quincy, a member of the House from Massachusetts:

> To me it appears that it would justify a revolution in this country; and that, in no great length of time, it may produce it. When I see the zeal and perseverance with which this bill has been urged along its parliamentary path, when I know the local interests and associated projects which combine to promote its success, all opposition to it seems painfully unavailing. I am almost tempted to leave, without a struggle, my country to its fate! And again, "I am compelled to declare it as my deliberate opinion, that, *if this bill passes,* the bonds of the Union are virtually dissolved; that the states which compose it are free from their moral obligations, and that, as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, definitely to

---

[11] Louisiana Historical Society, *Publications,* I. Parts 2 and 3.
[12] Gayarré, *History of Louisiana, American Domination,* 211.

prepare for a separation, amicably if they can, violently if they must.[13]

He was called to order by John Poindexter of Mississippi Territory, but won his point with the House and proceeded with his speech. His main reason for opposing the admission of Orleans was that it would be unconstitutional. The Constitution had been drawn up by the people of the United States for themselves and their posterity, and "not for the people of Louisiana, nor for the people of New Orleans, or of Canada."

Becomes state of Louisiana; West Florida included.—Yet the opponents of the bill could not block its passage and on February 20, 1811, it was signed by the President. This bill authorized the people of Orleans to draw up a constitution and form a state government. A convention met at New Orleans and adopted a state constitution in the latter part of January, 1812. Orleans was then admitted into the Union by Congress as the state of Louisiana, the act to take effect on April 30, which was the anniversary of the treaty of cession. The boundaries of the new state were to be the Sabine River on the west, the thirty-third parallel of north latitude on the north as far east as the Mississippi, down the river to the Iberville, following the course of the latter through lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain to the Gulf of Mexico. The Gulf was of course the southern boundary including all the islands within three leagues of the coast. Almost immediately that part of West Florida lying south of the thirty-first parallel and west of the Pearl River was made a part of the new state and divided into the "Florida Parishes." Claiborne was elected the first governor under the new constitution.[14]

[13] *Annals of Congress, 11th Cong., 3d Sess.*

[14] Phelps, *Louisiana,* 247-251. *See also Brown,* Everett Somerville, *The Constitutional History of the Louisiana Purchase, 1803-1812,* Berkeley, 1920. Chapters X and XI.

Population of Louisiana in 1812.—Meanwhile the population within the newly formed state had been increasing and the boundaries of the occupied territory had been enlarged. The United States census map for 1810 shows a continuous line of settlement in the Territory of Orleans from the vicinity of Mississippi Sound eastward along the parallel that passes just south of New Orleans and touches the Gulf coast again in the vicinity of Vermillion Bay, thence from these extreme eastern and western points north to similar points on a parallel passing through the mouth of the Red River, the density of the population diminishing in the more remote sections west of the Mississippi. From the mouth of the Red River a line of settled area follows the course of that stream to Natchitoches. Another broader line of settlement extends up the Mississippi and along the eastern banks of the Black and Washita rivers, the line dividing into two in the vicinity of modern Winnsboro. The eastern line follows the course of the Washita to a point south of modern Monroe, and the western continues up the Mississippi to within a short distance of the northern boundary of the territory. Ten years later, eight years after the Territory of Orleans had become the state of Louisiana, the three fingers of settlement along the courses of the Red, Washita, and Mississippi rivers had lengthened and broadened. The territory had a population of 76,556; the state in 1820 had 152,923 inhabitants.

Changes in organization of Upper Louisiana.—It will be remembered that the name District of Louisiana was given to that part of the purchase lying north of the thirty-third parallel in 1804. For governmental purposes it was at first attached to the Territory of Indiana, but the people protested so vigorously against this that Congress, on July 4, 1805, changed it into the Territory of Louisiana with a governor, a secretary, and three judges of its own. When the Territory of

Orleans became the state of Louisiana seven years later, the name Territory of Louisiana was changed to Territory of Missouri. The area of the latter was reduced in 1819 by the formation of the Territory of Arkansas. With these explanations of changes in mind we may now turn our attention to the extension of American settlements in the northern territory between the years 1804 and 1820.

Increase in population 1804-1812.—The majority of the immigrants who came into the Territory of Louisiana during the early years of this period were not the ones as a rule who pushed the frontier westward. They preferred to settle in or near communities which had already been formed. This explains why the area of settlement did not increase very much although the number of settlers nearly doubled. The increase in the population of a community, however, invariably stirred the restless spirit of the genuine pioneer already on the ground. Too many neighbors and the building of roads, bridges, and fields annoyed him and deprived him of "elbow room," and often he again pushed out into the unoccupied places to seek the solitude and individual freedom which he could not have in the midst of his multiplying neighbors.[15]

Northern Part.—These were the ones who opened up a few new places before the War of 1812 and they were soon followed by the more permanent settlers. The line of settled area was carried up the Mississippi to Cuivre River in what is now Lincoln County, Missouri, and even as far north as Hannibal. But the more important movement was up the Missouri. Two families are reported to have been living on the Gasconade in 1808; two years later the captain of militia in this district had two hundred and fifty on his muster roll.[16] At Loutre Island the first settlement had been

[15] Turner, *Significance of the Frontier in American History.*
[16] Brackenridge, "Journal" in Thwaites, *Western Travels*, 22.

made in 1807 and by 1811 the population had increased considerably and several families had occupied country west of the island. Cote sans Dessein, near the mouth of the Osage River, was settled in 1808, and its inhabitants multiplied several times during the next three years. The most prominent of these extreme western settlements in 1811 was in the area known as the Boonslick country. It was a name applied to the territory in and around the present county of Howard in Missouri. The name arose from the fact that two sons of Daniel Boone made salt there at a salt spring or lick in 1807, and returned to the older settlements with an enthusiastic account of the splendid agricultural advantages which the new country afforded. The following year an attempt to establish a settlement there had to be abandoned because the country had not been acquired from the Indians at that time. By the end of 1811 more than seventy-five families had established themselves in the territory, one of the early occupants being the father of Kit Carson. In the vicinity of Fort Osage, still farther west, a lonely pioneer had opened a farm before the outbreak of the War of 1812; and even down to 1819 this continued to mark the extreme edge of western settlement.[17]

Southern part.—Farther south in the country which was to become known as Arkansas, the growth of settlement was not so rapid during the years preceding the second war for independence, but the increase of the American population was constant and regular. They chose fertile lands in the valleys of the Mississippi, the Arkansas, and the White rivers. The settlement along the lower valley of the Arkansas was somewhat impeded during the period on account of the difficulty the immigrants experienced in procuring lands. South of

[17] Houck, Louis, *History of Missouri from the Earliest Explorations and Settlements until the Admission of the State into the Union*, 3 vols., 1908, III. 145-150.

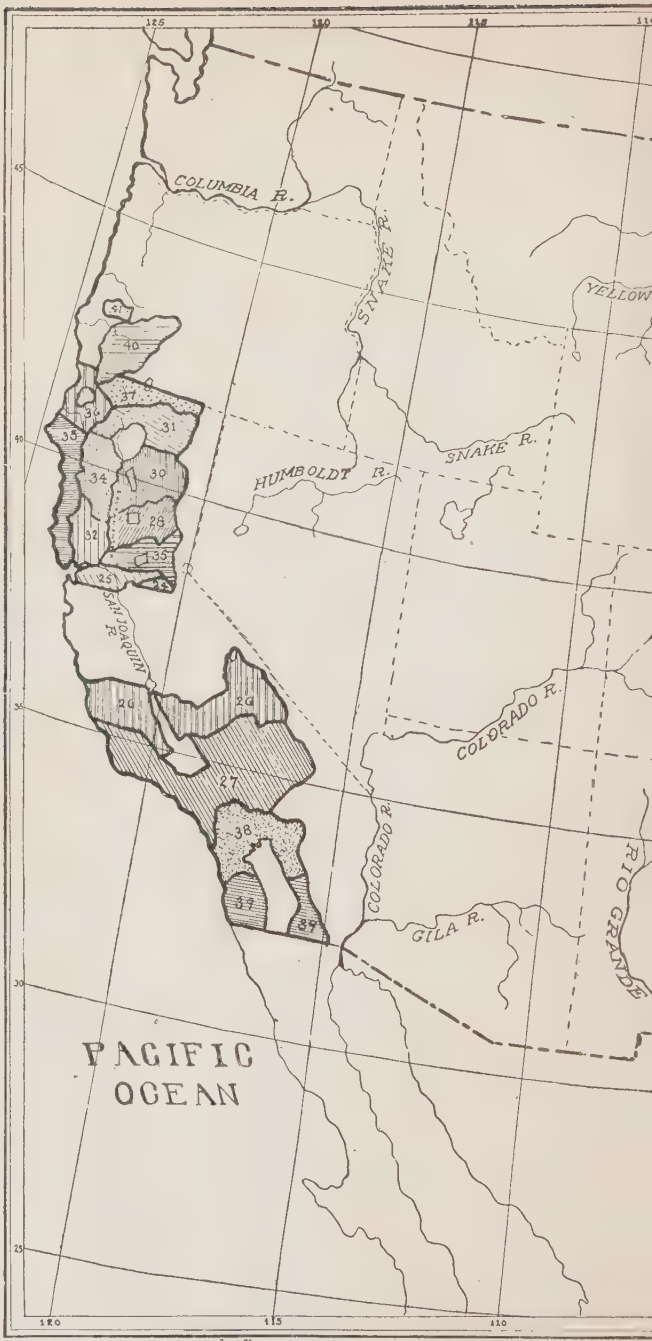
the river the land was owned by the Quapaw Indians who could not sell; north of the Arkansas the settlement was impeded somewhat by Spanish grants. The land from the Arkansas Post to Argenta was claimed by Elisha and Gabriel Winter and Joseph Stilwell. It is said that they had secured the grant in 1798 as a reward for having introduced manufacturing at New Orleans. They were willing to sell the land but the immigrants were afraid the grantors could not give legal title to the soil. It can scarcely be said, however, that the westward movement was halted in this quarter as a result of the existing status of land.[18]

Throughout this section Indian squatters who came from tribes east of the Mississippi multiplied and caused increasing annoyance to the whites.

Indian settlers.—Indians of the Southwest had crossed the Mississippi before Louisiana was purchased by the United States. This was particularly true of the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws. It was a movement in which Jefferson manifested considerable interest and on three different occasions during the years 1803 to 1812 an effort was made to have the Indians exchange their lands east of the Mississippi for western territory. The first instance was early in 1805. A delegation of Chickasaws from Mississippi Territory came to Washington for a conference. Jefferson, in the midst of a discussion on the benefits to be derived from agricultural pursuits, hinted delicately at removal. He informed them that the United States had recently acquired land from the French beyond the Mississippi, a great deal of which was unoccupied by red men. "But it is very far off, and we would prefer giving you lands there, or money and goods, as you like best, for such parts of your land on this side of

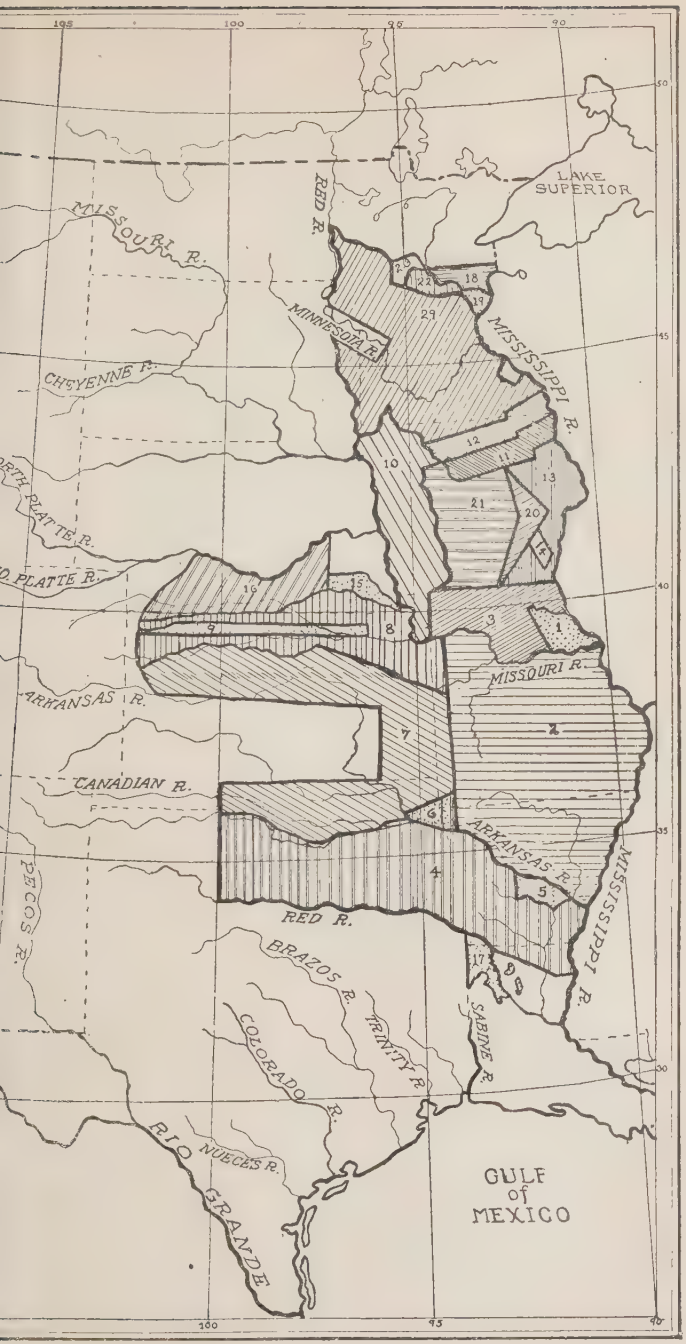
[18] Quoted in Abel, Annie H., "History of Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi" in American Historical Association *Annual Report*, 1906, I. 252. J. H. Shinn, *Pioneers and Makers of Arkansas*, 27.

INDIAN LAND CESSIONS
West of the
MISSISSIPPI
1804 — 1854



24 - MAR. 19 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
25 - MAY 28 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
26 - JUNE 3 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
27 - JUNE 10 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
28 - JULY 18 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
30 - AUG. 1 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
31 - AUG. 16 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
32 - AUG 20 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
33 - AUG. 22 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
34 - SEPT. 9 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
35 - SEPT. 18 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
36 - OCT. 4 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
37 - NOV. 4 1851 VARIOUS TRIBES
38 - JAN. 5 1852 SAN LOUIS REY
39 - JAN. 7 1852 DIEGUENOS
40 - SEPT. 10 1853 ROGUE
41 - SEPT. 19 1853 UMPQUA

COMPILED FROM ROYCE'S " INDIAN LAND CESSIONS IN THE UNITED STATE



1- NOV. 3 1804
SAUK & FOX.
2- NOV. 10 1808
GR. & LITTLE OSAGE
3- NOV. 10 1808
GR. & LITTLE OSAGE
AUG. 4 1824
SAUK & FOX
4- AUG. 24 1818
QUAPAW
5- NOV. 15 1824
QUAPAW RESERVE
6- SEPT. 25 1818
GR. & LITTLE OSAGE
7- JUNE 2 1825
GR. & LITTLE OSAGE
8- JUNE 3 1825
KANSAS
9- JAN. 14 1846
KANSAS RESERVE
10- JULY. 15 1830
SAUK & FOX
11- JULY 15 1830
SAUK & FOX
12- JULY. 15 1830
SAUK & FOX
13- SEPT. 21 1832
SAUK & FOX
14- SEPT. 28 1836
RESERVE
15- SEPT. 21 1833
OTO & MISSOURI
16- OCT. 9 1833
PAWNEE
17- JULY 1 1835
CADDO
18- JULY 29 1837
CHIPPEWA
19- SEPT. 29 1837
SIOUX
20- OCT. 21. 1837
SAUK & FOX
21- OCT. 11 1842
SAUK & FOX
22- AUG. 2 1847
CHIPPEWA
23- AUG. 27 1847
CHIPPEWA
29- JULY. 23. 1851
SIOUX

the Mississippi as you are disposed to part with. Should you have anything to say on this subject now or at any future time, we shall be always ready to listen to you." In 1808 efforts were made to induce the Choctaws to remove west of the Mississippi, but these attempts failed. A little later, probably as a result of the influence of Colonel Meigs, the Cherokees expressed a desire to go and permission was secured for the migration of all those who cared to move. They were to receive land in the Trans-Mississippi West equal to the amount they surrendered in the East. With the inauguration of Madison, however, interest in Cherokee emigration lapsed. The government failed to provide the funds which had been promised and the Cherokees, thrown on their own resources, went or remained as they chose. A few of them went, but they had no definite tract assigned them west of the Mississippi at that time, and they wandered about or settled down whenever and wherever they could find room.[19]

The treaty of 1817.—On July 8, 1817, a treaty was made whereby the United States agreed to cede the Cherokees as much land west of the Mississippi as they had given up east of that stream. The tract assigned under Article 5 of the treaty was between the Arkansas and White rivers. The eastern line began at Point Remove on the upper bank of the Arkansas and ran northeastward to the White River. The western limits were not defined. In fact they could not be until the amount of land to which the Cherokees were entitled had been determined.

Removal of Indians from Arkansas Territory.—When Schoolcraft descended the White River in January, 1820, he found considerable uneasiness and discontent among the white settlers on account of this

[19] *Ibid.*, 255, 256.

treaty.[20] Homes had been built and farms inclosed within the ceded tract and the occupants of these were not sure whether they would be permitted to retain them. The constant friction between the settlers and the Indians resulted in appeals to the government and further Indian removals.[21] The Quapaws had surrendered their lands south of the Arkansas on August 4, 1824. By 1825 the Choctaws had been compelled to retire west of the Arkansas line. In that same year negotiations were begun with the Cherokees which continued for three years. In 1828 they were moved still farther west much to the delight of the settler.

Settlement of Missouri Territory 1812-1820.—The outbreak of war between the United States and England in 1812 checked temporarily the westward movement of the American people, but immediately following that event came an outburst of renewed interest in westward migration. From thirty to fifty wagons crossed the Mississippi daily at St. Louis, the majority of them coming from Tennessee and Kentucky. The Indian title to land in the Boonslick country was extinguished in 1814, and the country north and west of the Osage River was named Howard County in 1816. A year later a county seat was established at Franklin. The growth of this town was like that of many others along the frontier. Within a year after it was laid out it contained one hundred and fifty houses and a population of eight hundred or a thousand people, and the price of lots rose from fifty to six hundred dollars. The town was built on low bottom land and as a result was entirely washed away by the floods of the Missouri before 1830, but its disappearance marks the

[20] Schoolcraft, *Adventures in the Ozark Mountains*, 130.

[21] Abel, *History of Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi*, 367-369. An excellent brief summary of Indian migrations and treaties with the Indians of the South will be found in the introductory chapter of Roy Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma* (University of California Publications, 1917).

beginning of the rapid growth of Boonville which had been founded in 1819. The few people who were living in what became Cooper County had crossed the river during the war to seek protection in the forts there, but when peace was concluded they returned to the south bank of the Missouri and with new immigrants formed extensive settlements in that section. The thirty families residing on the left bank of the Missouri above Côte sans Dessein, a settlement two miles below the mouth of the Osage River, increased to eight hundred by the arrival of immigrants during the next three years. In 1817 Chariton did not exist; two years later it was a community of five hundred people. Even farther west, immigrants pushed their way into Carroll and Clay counties and opened up farms.

While the settlers along the Missouri multiplied, pioneers began to make their way up the tributaries of that stream and to seek out the more desirable places in the valleys and uplands in other parts of the territory. When Long made his expedition in 1819 settlements had been made and industries established along Gasconade and the country within the present boundaries of Maries County had been occupied. Up the White River came immigrants from the country to the south to build homes where Springfield now stands. Modern Forsyth, a little farther south, had already been occupied. In the vicinity of the present town of Van Buren in Carter County, other homes were built at about the same time. As the new settlements increased in numbers the older farms became larger and more prosperous so that by 1820 cornfields of several hundred acres might be found growing in sections which had been practically unoccupied three or four years earlier.[22]

---

[22] Houck, *History of Missouri,* III. 150-160; Violette, *History of Missouri,* 74-81.

Southern part.—Meanwhile the southern part of the territory was receiving immigrants from eastern states. The settlements were made in the fertile valleys of streams in various parts of the territory. Some from Kentucky came down the Ohio and the Mississippi to the mouth of the White, and followed up that stream to Poke Bayou, later Batesville, in what became Independence County, Arkansas, while others drove herds of cattle overland to the same place as early as 1810. During the preceding year homes were built on the banks of the Washita near the present site of Arkadelphia. As early as 1812, salt was manufactured in the vicinity and by that same year steamboats were plying between Blakleytown, the early name for Arkadelphia, and New Orleans. Descendants of Daniel Boone, the children of Flanders Callaway and his wife, Gemima Boone, settled here as early as 1816. Blakleytown thus became one of the earliest settlements in that part of Arkansas Territory. The people had settled in sufficient numbers to justify the formation of Clark County in 1819 and in the same year a newspaper, the *Arkansas Weekly Gazette,* began to appear. Before 1810 pioneers had occupied land in the southeastern part of the territory and in 1818 Hempstead County was organized there. By 1820 seven hundred and thirty-two miles of post roads existed in the territory, more than five hundred and eighty-two miles of which were used for delivery of mails.[23]

Summary of Population of Missouri Territory 1820.—The United States census reports show that in 1810 what is now Missouri had a population of 19,783; the territory which became Arkansas contained 1,062.

[23] See the following articles in the Arkansas Historical Association, *Reports:* C. H. Brough, "The Industrial History of Arkansas"; L. S. Butler, "History of Clark County"; I. J. H. Shinn, "Early Arkansas Newspapers"; all in I; A. H. Carrigan, "Reminiscences of Hempstead County," II; N. B. Williams, "The Post Offices in Early Arkansas," III; Robert Neil, "Reminiscences of Independence County," III.

Ten years later the southern territory had increased to 14,255, while Missouri had passed the 65,000 mark. While the population of the northern part of the Territory of Missouri was increasing more than three hundred per cent, that of the southern part had grown over twelve hundred per cent. A large number of the immigrants came from Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Carolinas, many bringing their slaves with them.

Missouri seeks statehood.—Such a growth would obviously, sooner or later, affect the attitude of the people toward the existing government. It will be remembered that Upper Louisiana had been raised to a territory of the second rank in 1812, and that the name had been changed to Missouri. In April, 1816, it was made a territory of the highest order, but the population was rapidly reaching that stage when the territorial form of government would no longer satisfy the people. During the latter part of 1817 the inhabitants of Missouri began to draw up petitions to Congress praying for admission to statehood and these were placed before the national legislature early in 1818. In April of that year a bill authorizing the people of Missouri to form a state constitution was introduced, but failed to pass. In November following, the territorial legislature drafted a memorial to Congress requesting admission into the Union and at the same time another was presented from the people in what is now Arkansas requesting a division of the territory. The petitions were referred to committees and a bill to enable the people of Missouri to form a state constitution was reported. After a delay of a month it was taken up by the Committee of the Whole. It was at this time that James Tallmadge of New York proposed an amendment making the admission of Missouri subject to two conditions: the further introduction of slaves into Missouri should be forbidden, and all children born of

slave parents after the admission of the state into the Union should be free after they had attained the age of twenty-five years.

Tallmadge Amendment.—Tallmadge exercised great tact in submitting his amendment. He explained his motive carefully, hoping that if he failed to disarm opposition at least the slaveholders would oppose him with moderation. His amendment, he explained, affected only the newly acquired territory beyond the Mississippi. He knew that the subject was a delicate one and he had learned from southern gentlemen of the difficulties and dangers of having free negroes mingle with slaves. For this reason he had no desire to meddle with slavery in the slaveholding states. He would not even advocate the prohibition of slavery in the territory of Alabama because "surrounded as it was by slaveholding states, and with only imaginary lines of division, the intercourse between slaves and free blacks could not be prevented, and a servile war might be the result.[24]

Amendment denounced.—These conciliatory expressions were spoken in vain. Tallmadge had scarcely taken his seat when his proposed amendment was assailed vigorously by southern leaders. It was declared to be unconstitutional because Congress, it was said, had no right to place restrictions on any state as a condition of its admission to the Union. Furthermore, according to the terms of the treaty of purchase, Congress was pledged to form Louisiana into states and admit them into the Union on the same footing with the original states, and Missouri would not be on the same footing with the original states if forced to abolish slavery as a condition of admission. The amendment was declared to be unwise because it would reserve Missouri to free state men alone and close it to

[24] *Annals of Congress, 1818-1819,* 1203.

southern emigrants. This restriction on emigration would reduce the number of prospective land purchasers to just that extent, and this in turn would result in a fall in the price of public lands and a corresponding decrease in the amount of the public revenue. Feelings waxed hot and not infrequently invectives took the place of arguments. The delegate from Missouri, Scott, bade the supporters of the amendment to beware the "Ides of March" and the fate of Cæsar and Rome. Cobb of Georgia declared that Tallmadge and his supporters would dissolve the Union if they persisted, and looking at the former he continued, "You have kindled a fire which all the waters of the ocean cannot put out, which seas of blood can only extinguish." [25] Livermore of New York was told by Colston of Virginia "that he was no better than Arbuthnot or Ambrister, and deserved no better fate."

These arguments and denunciations failed to intimidate the proponents of the bill. The Tallmadge amendment was accepted by the committee and passed by the House, but it was stricken out in the Senate. The House would not accept it in this form and the measure was lost.

Arkansas made Territory.—The petition from the people in the southern part of the territory, submitted at the same time as the memorial from the northern part, was followed by the introduction of a bill creating the Territory of Arkansas. This came before the Committee of the Whole on February 17, 1819. Taylor proposed an amendment for it similar to the one Tallmadge had suggested for Missouri. This also produced a sharp struggle in which Clay accused its advocates of "Negrophobia." A representative of North Carolina wanted to know whether the South was to be deprived of all territory west of the Mississippi and

[25] *Ibid., 1819-1820,* 1204.

the people of Arkansas of "the natural and constitutional right of legislating for themselves" by imposing on them a condition they would not accept. This argument is interesting as a distinct avowal of the doctrine later known as "squatter sovereignty." Apparently it was effective. Taylor made several vain efforts to have his amendment accepted, but the majority were against him. Finally he moved that slavery should not thereafter be introduced into any of the territories north of 36° and 30′ north latitude. The House was not ready for this, and Taylor consented to withdraw the amendment. The bill met no opposition in the Senate and was passed and signed by Monroe before Congress adjourned on March 4, 1819.

On December 6, 1819, the sixteenth Congress met and Clay was again elected Speaker of the House. During the interval between March and December the people of the country North and South had been taking a keener interest in the slavery question. In the former section the antislavery sentiment grew stronger and more outspoken; in the latter the defense of the institution became more vigorous and less apologetic. In both sections numerous public gatherings gave voice to emphatic opinions in unmistakable language.[26] Under such circumstances the admission of Missouri became the great question of the hour.

Missouri Compromise.—On January 6, 1820, a bill was introduced in the Senate providing for the admission of Maine, which was a part of Massachusetts, and of Missouri. The latter was to have slavery. The House had already passed a bill to admit Maine separately but they were coupled together in the Senate for the avowed purpose of compelling northern senators to vote for the admission of Missouri with slavery by

[26] For a summary of some of these *see* McMaster, *History of the People of the United States,* IV. 576-579; Schurz, *Henry Clay,* I. 176, 177.

making the admission of Maine contingent upon that of the former. The bill was carried in the Senate on February 16 by a majority of two. On the 17th a new amendment was proposed by Thomas of Illinois forbidding the introduction of slavery into any part of the remainder of the Louisiana territory north of 36° 30′ north latitude, which was Missouri's southern boundary. In this amended form the bill passed the Senate on the same day.

Bill passes.—The House in the meantime was acrimoniously discussing a bill which proposed to admit Missouri on condition that the further introduction of slavery should be prohibited. In the midst of the contentions, on February 19, the Maine-Missouri bill with the Thomas amendment came before that body, and a few days later it voted overwhelmingly against the amendment. Then by a small majority the House passed a bill providing for the admission of Missouri with an antislavery provision. But the Senate would not recede from its position and both bodies agreed to refer the matter to a joint committee. The report of the committee contained these recommendations: (1) that the Senate should abandon the plan to pass the Maine and Missouri bills in one, and that Maine should be admitted into the Union; (2) that the House should give up the attempt to exclude slavery from Missouri; and (3) that both Houses should agree to pass the Senate bill which permitted slavery in Missouri but excluded it from the rest of the territory ceded by France to the United States north of 36° and 30′. The report of the joint committee was accepted and Missouri was permitted to form a constitution without being compelled to exclude slavery from her boundaries.

When he learned that the Missouri Compromise Bill had passed both Houses of Congress, Monroe called a meeting of his Cabinet and requested their opinion in writing on two questions. First, had Con-

gress a constitutional right to prohibit slavery in a territory? Second, did the section of the Missouri bill which forbade slavery in the territory west of the Mississippi and north of the parallel 36° and 30′ apply to the territories of the United States only, or was it binding also on the states formed out of the territories? Adams, Calhoun, Crawford, and Wirt answered the first in the affirmative, but the second provoked a lively discussion. Adams believed it binding on the states as well as the territories. Calhoun, Crawford, and Wirt, on the other hand, maintained that the injunction applied only to territorial conditions. At the suggestion of Calhoun the second question was changed so that it read, "Is the eighth section of the Missouri bill consistent with the Constitution?" The two questions were answered affirmatively in writing by the secretaries a few days later, and the bill was signed.

Missouri Constitution.—When the people of Missouri learned that Congress had authorized them to draw up a state constitution, arrangements were made to call a convention for that purpose. The issue in the election of delegates to the convention, it was thought, would be whether or not the state should place any restrictions upon slavery. As they had followed the discussion in Congress over the advisability of placing restrictions on the state with regard to slavery, the people of Missouri appeared to have been unanimous in their opposition to such restriction. But without the least inconsistency they might feel justified in placing such limitations on that institution as they should choose. Public sentiment at the time the Missouri question was pending in Congress appeared to indicate that the people would be somewhat divided on the subject of state restriction. However, no delegates were elected to the convention who favored having the state place any restrictions on slavery, and in only five of the fifteen counties was there an issue made of the ques-

tion. In fact not more than a thousand votes were cast in favor of "state restrictionist delegates" out of a total of from seven to eleven thousand.[27] There can be little doubt, therefore, but that the people of Missouri were in favor of maintaining slavery.

The forty-one delegates chosen met in the Mansion House Hotel in St. Louis on June 12, 1820, and immediately organized. A little over a month was spent in framing a constitution. It was put into effect at once without submitting it to the people. This arbitrary method was followed by the convention because the people were apparently indifferent toward a referendum; because they "wanted an immediate state government without further delay;" because "the delegates possessed the confidence of the constituents;" because "the constitution was generally acceptable;" and finally because "the convention itself was undoubtedly opposed to such a course." [28]

Constitution before Congress.—The constitution which had been framed was placed before Congress in November following. Unfortunately it contained two provisions which were to stir up all the old feelings and animosities, and produce new strife in the national legislature. Had the state constitution done nothing more than establish slavery and provide for its protection, all might have been well, but it went much further. It forbade the state legislature ever to pass a law emancipating slaves without the consent of the masters, and it instructed that same body to forbid free negroes or mulattoes to enter the state on any pretext whatever. When the antislavery members of Congress read the latter provision in Missouri's constitution, they reminded proslavery members that there were states where negroes were free men and citizens.

---

[27] Violette, *History of Missouri,* 116; Houck, *History of Missouri,* III. 243-248; Shoemaker, *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood.*

[28] Shoemaker, *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood.*

This clause in the state constitution was therefore a violation of that other clause in the Constitution of the United States which gave to the citizens of each state "all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several states." For this reason Missouri ought not to be admitted into the Union until this palpable discrimination should be eliminated. Throughout the months that followed and amidst scenes of tense excitement the question was fought back and forth. On February 14, 1821, while the discussion was still under way the time came to count the electoral votes, Monroe having been reëlected President during the preceding autumn. Some members of the Senate said that the Missouri electoral votes should be counted while others claimed they should not. Clay persuaded the contenders to agree to a compromise according to which it was determined that if the votes of Missouri were counted Monroe would have two hundred and thirty-one votes; if not, he had two hundred and twenty-eight, and in either case he was elected President.

Missouri question settled.—Congress then turned its attention once more to the state constitution of Missouri. As the end of the session approached the excitement rose and spread and the question seemed no nearer its solution. In both Houses some efforts were made to find a basis of agreement, but energies in this direction were spent in vain. Finally, as a last resort, Clay moved the appointment of a committee to confer with a similar committee to be chosen by the Senate to determine whether or not it would be expedient to make arrangements for the admission of Missouri into the Union. This suggestion was accepted and committees were appointed by both Houses. On February 28, the report was ready. In substance the joint committee recommended that Missouri be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original states providing her legislature would give a solemn pledge that the

constitution of the state should not be so construed as to authorize the passage of a law by which any citizen of any state of the Union should be excluded from the enjoyment of any privileges to which he was entitled under the Constitution. The report was accepted by the Senate and then by the House, and the struggle over Missouri ended. On June 26, 1821, the Missouri legislature complied with the conditions, and on August 10 following, Monroe declared Missouri admitted into the Union.

Attempts of American Envoys to fix boundaries in 1803.—During the years from 1803 to 1821 while settlers were moving into the Trans-Mississippi West and while territorial governments were organized and states were admitted into the Union, the diplomatic agents of the national government were endeavoring to fix definite boundaries to the country purchased from France. At the time the treaty of cession was concluded in 1803, the attempt made by the American envoys to settle the question resulted in failure. Berthier's original treaty of retrocession contained the following words: "Louisiana with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it should be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other States." To the United States these words were ambiguous, but they were embodied in the treaty of cession. At first the American commissioners insisted upon having the boundaries defined and their request was submitted to the First Consul by Marbois. Napoleon's reply was a refusal and a suggestion that it might be good policy to put an obscurity in the document if one did not already exist. The boundary which he had defined in his instructions to Victor were intentionally concealed. Livingstone sought information on the subject from Talleyrand. "What are the eastern bounds of Louisiana?" "I do not know," Talleyrand

replied. "You must take it as we received it." "But," Livingstone urged, "what did you mean to take?" "I do not know," reiterated the wily Frenchman. "Then you mean that we shall construe it our own way?" "I can give no direction. You have made a noble bargain for yourselves, and I suppose you will make the most of it." [29] The American determined that he would.

The boundaries which Napoleon intended to take.—In commenting on the transference of Louisiana from Spain to the United States through the medium of France, Professor Channing remarks that the whole transaction was "so absolutely opposed to legal and historical hypotheses that it seems quite useless to argue the matter on such grounds." Napoleon had no legal or moral right to sell Louisiana. He sold it and the United States came into possession of it simply because the Corsican had the Spanish monarchy absolutely in his power. "Whatever he meant to take possession of under the name of Louisiana, he intended to hand over to us and handed over to us. In taking Louisiana we were the accomplices of the greatest highwayman of modern history, and the goods which we received were those which he compelled his unwilling victim to disgorge." [30]

Jefferson's idea.—Within a few weeks after the news of the purchase came to Jefferson he began an investigation to determine the limits of the territory. He had a valuable collection of books on America and from these he prepared an historical memoir on the boundaries of Louisiana.[31] In this he urged that because of the explorations and settlements made by La

[29] Henry Adams, *United States,* II. 43, 44. For a criticism of the presentation of these instructions by Adams, *see* Marshall's *A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, 1819-1841,* 5.

[30] Channing, *The Jeffersonian System,* 79.

[31] Thomas Jefferson, *The Limits and Bounds of Louisiana in Documents Relating to the Purchase and Exploration of Louisiana.* Houghton, Mifflin, and Co., 1904, 37.

Salle and Iberville, France had possession of the coast from St. Bernard Bay to Mobile, and that this, according to the principle sanctioned by international law, gave them possession of the sources of any rivers which might empty their waters into the Gulf of Mexico between these points. According to Jefferson the Spanish frontier in La Salle's time was the Panuco, but France had considered the rightful boundary to be the Rio Grande which was half way between the Panuco and St. Bernard Bay. This contention was strengthened, according to Jefferson, by the fact that the French Commissioner had stated that his instructions were to take possession of the Rio Grande.

Jefferson had started with the idea that the territory acquired was confined to the western waters of the Mississippi Valley, but as he studied the subject his conception changed, expanding until it included West Florida, Texas, and the Oregon country, "a view which was to be the basis of a large part of American diplomacy for nearly half a century."[32]

The acquisition of Louisiana by the United States did not please Spain because it removed the buffer between the United States and Mexico. From the beginning, therefore, the Spanish government showed an unfriendly attitude toward the American. At first the former attempted to prevent the latter from occupying the territory, but this plan gradually gave place to another which was intended to confine the Louisiana Purchase to as narrow bounds as possible. The movement to restrict began early in 1804 and it was not confined to diplomatic negotiations. Both nations took part in equipping expeditions to protect the border lands of the disputed territory. The difficult task which Spain set for herself was to save the Floridas, Texas, and the

[32] Marshall, T. M., *A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase,* 1819-1841, Berkeley, 1914, 13, 14.

Oregon country. In January, 1805, American representatives at Madrid opened negotiations, claiming in their first note that Louisiana extended from the Rio Grande to the Perdido—a contention which was forthwith denied by the Spanish authorities. Into the details of these early contentions—contentions which mark the beginning of the boundary question—it is unnecessary to go. The whole subject has been admirably treated elsewhere.[33]

Reopened in 1817.—In January, 1816, were begun the final negotiations which culminated in the treaty of 1819. The Americans began, as they had in 1805, by contending that Louisiana extended from the Perdido to the Rio Grande. This evoked a general denial from the Spanish as it had done on a former occasion. Negotiations were interrupted when the King decided to transfer them from Madrid to Washington. In the latter place the boundary question was again opened in January, 1817. Delay followed delay until shortly after Adams was appointed Secretary of State under Monroe's administration. During the latter part of 1817 De Onis informed the State Department that he was ready to pursue negotiations until their final termination. After some preliminary diplomatic fencing, De Onis presented a historical review of the western boundary. Spain, he said, had owned all of the Gulf region and the Californias by right of discovery and exploration, and Texas and New Mexico by right of settlement. Texas, he claimed, extended to the Mississippi, and the French when they had gone west of that river had done so with the permission or sufferance of the Spanish governors. Through right of priority, he asserted, Spain owned as far as the Missouri and the pretensions of the French concerning the size of the Crozat grant he considered ridiculous; pointing out

[33] *Ibid.*

that the French had been permitted to occupy Natchitoches, and when they had violated their trading privileges the Spanish officers had made an arrangement providing that the Arroyo Hondo should remain the dividing line until the issue was settled by the sovereigns. Since the boundary had never been determined formally a temporary one was suggested by De Onis, following the line of the Mermento and Arroyo Hondo, passing between Natchitoches and Adaes and extending across the Red toward the Missouri River. The exact boundaries were to be fixed later by a joint commission. That is, Spain was ready to yield a large part of the present state of Louisiana and lands along the western side of the Mississippi River.

Dickering.—To this Adams replied that the United States would accept the line of the Colorado from its mouth to its source and thence to the northern bounds of Louisiana, or his government would consent to leave the upper part of the boundary for future arrangement. The Spanish minister, after dryly commenting that he supposed the Colorado of Natchitoches and not that of Texas was meant, since the latter was still farther within the bounds of Spanish territory, proposed to cede the Floridas to the United States and to establish the boundary in one of the mouths of the Mississippi. If there were objections to this, he proposed "that the state of possession in 1763 form the basis, and that the western line be established between the Calcasien and the Mermento, thence the Arroyo Hondo till it crossed the Red River between Natchitoches and Adaes, thence northward to a point to be fixed by Commissioners." [34]

It was evident from that time on that Spain would cede the Floridas but that she would not cede Texas.

---

[34] *Ibid.*, 54. *See* Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 7; Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, II. 14; *State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV. 450-460.

So negotiations took a different course. Adams reasserted the claims of the United States to territory as far as the Rio Grande to be sure, but these demands gradually gave way to others which sought compensation in the Oregon country. Proposals and counter proposals followed one another throughout 1817 and 1818. In reply to one of these suggestions made by De Onis Adams offered the following as a substitute.

Adams's Offer.—Beginning at the mouth of the river Sabine, on the Gulf of Mexico, following the course of said river to the twenty-second degree of latitude, the eastern bank and all the islands in said river to belong to the United States, and the western bank to Spain; thence, due north, to the northernmost part of the thirty-third degree of north latitude, and until it strikes the Rio Roxo, or Red River; thence, following the course of the said river, to its source, touching the chain of the Snow Mountains, in latitude thirty-seven degrees, twenty-five minutes north, longitude one hundred and six degrees fifteen minutes west, or thereabouts, as marked on Melish's map; thence to the summit of the said mountains, and following the chain of the same to the forty-first parallel of latitude; thence following the said parallel of latitude forty-one degrees, to the South Sea. The northern bank of the said Red River, and all the islands therein, to belong to the United States, and the southern bank of the same to Spain. [35]

Results at end of 1818.—To this De Onis replied that his government would accept the Sabine if the line above the Red River should run due north until it reached the Mississippi and followed along the course of that stream to its source. At this point, however, Spain broke off negotiations until satisfaction could be obtained for the invasion of Florida by Jackson. Adams then took advantage of the situation to with-

[35] *American State Papers, Foreign Relations,* IV. 530, 531. *See also* Marshall, *A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase,* 58.

draw the proposal he had made, and declared once more the right of the United States to all territory to the Rio Grande. De Onis replied by declaring that all former offers made by his government were likewise withdrawn. So the year 1818 ended without any settlement of the boundary question.

Early in 1819 negotiations were resumed and a settlement was soon agreed upon. In January of that year De Onis informed Adams that he had received instructions in regard to running the line to the Pacific, and shortly afterwards declared that the King would accept a boundary extending from the source of the Missouri westward to the Columbia and along the middle of that stream to the Pacific Ocean. Adams refused to accept this, but on February 6, 1819, submitted the following which was the basis for the final settlement: [36]

Basis for final settlement.—Beginning at the mouth of the river Sabine, on the Gulf of Mexico; following the course of said river to the thirty-second degree of latitude, the eastern bank and all the islands in the river to belong to the United States, and the western bank to Spain; thence due north to the northernmost point of the bend, between longitude one hundred one and one hundred two degrees; thence by the shortest line, to the southernmost point of the bend of the river Arkansas, between the same degrees of longitude one hundred one and one hundred two degrees; thence following the course of the river Arkansas, to its source, in latitude forty-one degrees north; thence following the same parallel of latitude forty-one degrees to the South Sea. The northern banks and all the islands in the said Red and Arkansas rivers, on the said boundary line, to belong to the United States, and their southern banks to Spain; the whole being as laid down in Melish's map of the United States, published at Philadelphia, improved to the first of January, 1818. But, if the source of the Arkansas

[36] *American State Papers, Foreign Relations,* IV. 617.

River should fall south or north of latitude forty-one degrees, then the line from the said source shall run due north or south, as the case may be, till it meets the said parallel of latitude, and thence, as aforesaid, to the South Sea. And it is further agreed that no Spanish settlement shall be made on any part of the said Red or Arkansas rivers, nor on any of the waters flowing into the same, nor any east of the chain of the Snow Mountains, between the latitudes thirty-one and forty-one degrees inclusively; and that the navigation of said rivers shall belong exclusively to the United States forever.

The French minister, De Neuville, when Adams conferred with him in regard to the *project,* pointed out that De Onis would never accept the provisions, particularly those contained in the last sentence. Adams replied that he would abandon the disagreeable exclusions, provided the Spaniard would accept the rest of the treaty, and would "refer the matter to the President with a recommendation that if De Onis accepted the line of the forty-first degree, the United States would agree to the hundredth meridian." [37]

A counter proposal.—Three days after Adams communicated the above *project* to De Onis the latter submitted a counter proposal. In this he accepted the lower part of the line offered by Adams, but suggested that it leave the Red River at the hundredth meridian and along this degree of longitude north to the Arkansas, thence along the middle of that stream to the forty-second degree of north latitude, then west along that parallel to the source of the Multnomah, thence along the course of that river to the forty-third parallel, and west to the ocean. All the islands were to belong to the United States, but such parts of the rivers as constituted their frontiers were to be open to the free navigation of both countries.

[37] Marshall, *Western Boundary of Louisiana,* 62.

The western boundary fixed.—Adams declared that De Onis struggled long and violently before he finally agreed to accept the hundredth meridian from the Red River to the Arkansas, and latitude forty-two from the source of the Arkansas to the South Sea. Even then "he insisted upon having the middle of all the rivers for the boundary, and not, as I proposed, the western and southern banks."[38] On this point, however, Adams refused to yield. De Onis finally gave way, and on February 22, 1819, the treaty was signed. Two days later it was unanimously approved by the Senate. According to the last article ratifications were to be exchanged within six months or sooner if possible. As finally fixed the western boundary of Louisiana was to follow the Sabine from its mouth along the western bank of the river to the thirty-second parallel; "thence, by a line due north, to the degree of latitude where it strikes the Rio Roxo of Natchitoches, or Red River," then along that stream westward to the one hundredth meridian, which degree of longitude it followed north to the southern bank of the Arkansas; thence along the southern bank of that stream to the source of the river and north or south as the case might be to the forty-second parallel along which parallel the line continued to the Pacific Ocean.[39]

The treaty of 1819 gave the United States the Floridas; it gave to the United States Spain's claim to the Oregon country; and it fixed the western boundary of the Louisiana territory. The northern limits of that vast region had been determined during the preceding year by a treaty concluded between the United States and England. The treaty of 1818, therefore, deserves a cursory examination.

---

[38] Adams's *Memoirs*, IV.

[39] *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV. 623, Article 3. The treaty is also in *Treaties and Conventions concluded between the United States of America and other Powers since July 4, 1776*. Washington, 1889, 1016-1021.

Early attempts to settle northern boundary of Louisiana.—By the treaty of 1783 the northern boundary of the United States was to be a line running due west from the extreme northwest corner of the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi, which at that time was supposed to rise in what is now Canada. The possibility of drawing such a line soon became doubtful, so the treaty of 1794 called for a joint survey of the Mississippi from one degree below the Falls of St. Anthony to the source or to the sources of that river, and the establishment of a new line if necessary. This survey was not made, however, and when in 1803 Rufus King concluded a convention it was provided that the shortest line from the northwest corner of the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi should constitute the boundary. This convention was not ratified, and its rejection was fortunate because the interest of the United States in the Northwest was increased considerably a few months later through the purchase of Louisiana. In 1806 when the next treaty was drawn up with Great Britain the question was considered seriously once more. England expressed a desire to adopt the forty-ninth parallel from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, but the American representatives, in doubt as to whether the forty-ninth parallel would touch the lake, suggested a substitute line beginning at the most northwestern point of the Lake, thence due north or due south until it touched the forty-ninth parallel, and then along that degree of latitude to the mountains. Nothing came of these proposals, however, and the question was still unsettled when the peace commissioners met at Ghent following the close of the second war for independence.

Subject discussed at Ghent.—When the subject was raised at that time both the United States and England brought forward the line which had been offered by their respective envoys in 1806, but the Brit-

ish offer was accompanied by a new condition which provided that her subjects should be permitted to cross the territories of the United States to the Mississippi and enjoy the free navigation of that river to the Gulf of Mexico. The United States would not accept this proposal and as the English representatives refused to separate the boundary question from the use of the Mississippi by British subjects, no conclusion could be reached.

Convention of 1818.—On November 19, 1817, Richard Rush embarked at Annapolis as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from the United States to the court of St. James. His instructions bade him conclude a commercial treaty to take the place of the convention of July, 1815. He had not been in England long, however, before his instructions were modified and he was directed to ask a settlement of numerous old grievances which were becoming serious. Among these were the fishing rights of American seamen, the demand for the indemnity for slaves carried off by British officers at the end of the war, our title to the little settlement at the mouth of the Columbia River and the settlement of the boundary line from the Lake of the Woods westward. If Great Britain should agree to negotiate Albert Gallatin, the American minister in France, was to join Rush in England immediately. England consented and on August 27 Gallatin and Rush met the British commissioners, Frederick John Robinson and Henry Goulburn, and formally opened a conference which on October 20 following closed with the signing of the Convention of 1818.[40] The Convention was ratified and proclaimed on January 30, 1819. Article two of that document, the only one bearing on the subject of the boundary, was as follows:

[40] McMaster, J. B., *A History of the People of the United States,* IV. 468-474.

ARTICLE II.—It is agreed that a line drawn from the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, along the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, or, if the said point shall not be in the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, then that a line be drawn from the said point north or south as the case may be, until the said line shall intersect the said parallel of north latitude, and from the point of such intersection due west along and with the said parallel shall be the line of demarcation between the territories of the United States, and those of His Britannic Majesty, and that the said line shall form the northern boundaries of the said territories of the United States, and the southern boundary of the territories of His Britannic Majesty, from the Lake of the Woods to the Stony Mountains.[41]

The Convention of 1818 with England and the "Treaty of Amity, Settlement and Limits" concluded with Spain on February 22, 1819, and ratified two years later, fixed the limits of the Louisiana Purchase.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Settlement: Material on the settlement of the Trans-Mississippi West is widely scattered and provokingly meager. Bits of information may be found in the local histories, in the body and in the editorial notes of the various editions of journals of explorers, and in the historical society publications. The most valuable of these for the period covered by this chapter are the following: Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana,* 4 vols., New York, 1866. (The first two volumes—French Domination—are bound in one. Later editions published in New Orleans, 1885 and 1903); Louis Houck, *History of Missouri, from the Earliest Explorations . . . until the Admission of the State into the Union,* 3 vols., Chicago, 1908; François-Xavier Martin, *History of Louisiana from the Earliest Period,* 2 vols., New Orleans, 1827; J. W. Monettette, *History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi,* 2 vols., New York, 1846; John Hugh Reynolds, *Makers of Arkansas* (Stories of the States series), New York, 1905; James A. Robertson

[41] *Treaties and Conventions concluded between the United States of America and the other Powers since July 4, 1776,* Washington, 1889, 415-418. *See also* Richard Rush, *Memoranda of a Residence at the Court of London,* Philadelphia, 1833, 368-374.

(editor), *Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States, 1785-1807,* 2 vols., Cleveland, 1911 (contains contemporary accounts by Paul Alliot and others, and a bibliography); Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Daniel Boone,* New York, 1902; Eugene Morrow Violette, *A History of Missouri,* New York, 1918 (contains brief lists of good references at end of each chapter). Certain volumes in Thwaites (editor), *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846,* 32 vols., Cleveland, 1904-1907 (particularly the journals of Brackenridge, Bradbury, S. H. Long, and Nuttall), contain information on the early settlement of Missouri and Arkansas. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Scenes and Adventures in the Semi-Alpine Region of the Ozark Mountains of Missouri and Arkansas Which Were First Traversed by De Soto in 1541,* Philadelphia, 1853. Washington Irving, *A Tour of the Prairies,* London, 1835. The various editions of the Lewis and Clark expedition, particularly those edited by Elliott Coues and R. G. Thwaites, contain considerable information. Elliott Coues (editor), *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike to Headwaters of the Mississippi River, through Louisiana Territory, and in New Spain, During the Years 1805-1806-1807,* 3 vols., New York, 1895, is valuable. Arkansas Historical Society *Publications;* Missouri Historical Society *Collections* (St. Louis, 1880-); and the *Missouri Historical Review* (Columbia, Mo., 1906), are good.

Boundaries: Thomas Maitland Marshall, *A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, 1819-1841* (1914), is a scholarly treatment of the subject, and contains an excellent bibliography.

CHAPTER IV

THE AMERICAN FUR TRADE AND COMMERCE IN THE WEST

Period covered.—When Lewis and Clark were nearly home from their journey across the continent they met parties of traders who were making their way to that mountain country from which the explorers had just come. This was in 1806. Thirty-seven years later, James Bridger, a member of the fur trading fraternity, built a post on a tributary of the Green River for the convenience of emigrants, the first trading post built for this purpose west of the Mississippi. These two incidents, the return of Lewis and Clark and the construction of Fort Bridger, have been taken by a writer on the American fur trade as marking the time limits of the fur trading era in the country west of the Mississippi.

Importance of the trade.—It was during this period that the American trader and trapper "traced the streams to their sources, scaled the mountain passes, and explored a boundless expanse of territory. . . ." They were the men who first explored the routes which have since been used as the avenues of commerce and travel in the Trans-Mississippi West.

They were the pathfinders of the West, and not those later official explorers whom posterity so recognizes. No feature of western geography was ever *discovered* by government explorers after 1840. Everything was already known and had been for a decade. It is true that many features, like the Yellowstone wonderland, with which these restless rovers were familiar, were afterward forgotten

and were rediscovered in later years; but there has never been a time until very recently when the geography of the West was so thoroughly understood as it was by the trader and trapper from 1830 to 1840.[1]

St. Louis as fur trading center.—St. Louis was the center from which traders went into the remote West in search of furs and they came to St. Louis again to dispose of the season's catch. The city's location determined its importance in the fur trading industry. Situated on the Mississippi near the mouth of the Missouri it commanded the waters along whose banks lay the buffalo plains and the beaver meadows, and it was the center for all water transportation in this section. From this emporium packs were sent down the Mississippi to the fur merchants at New Orleans and thence by sea to the eastern markets, or they were forwarded over one of the more direct northern routes. In the latter case they might pass up the Ohio or by way of the Illinois and Chicago rivers to Lake Michigan, and thence either by water or across country to Detroit, from there to Black Rock near Buffalo, and then overland to New York. Sometimes Lake Michigan was reached by way of the Mississippi, Wisconsin, and Fox rivers. In the spring and fall the wharves at St. Louis were crowded with vessels. There was the keel boat of the licensed trader with gewgaws for traffic with the Indian, there was the flat-bottom scow or Mackinaw with its load of beaver and buffalo skins, and there also was the dugout canoe of the free trapper who had paddled in from some mountain meadow or prairie stream with his season's catch of furs, robes, tallow and buffalo meat.

Effect of report of Lewis and Clark.—A favorable report made by Lewis and Clark quickened interest among the fur traders of St. Louis and im-

[1] Chittenden, *The History of the American Fur Trade in the Far West*, I. 9.

mediate preparations were made to traffic on the upper Missouri. The first important expedition was fitted out by the Spaniard, Manuel Lisa, whose experience on the Osage had given him an intimate knowledge of the Indian character and customs. With a keel boat laden with goods he left St. Louis in the spring of 1807, ascended the Missouri, and built a post at the mouth of the Bighorn. The winter spent in trading with the Indians proved a profitable one, and Lisa returned to St. Louis the following year, probably in August.

St. Louis Missouri Fur Company formed.—The reports which he brought back in regard to the resources of the upper Missouri aroused considerable general interest among St. Louis traders, and led to the formation of a company which included practically all the prominent business men of the city. The organization was generally known as the Missouri Fur Company, but it was incorporated under the name of the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company. It began its career in the spring of 1809 under most favorable circumstances. Included among its members were the ablest traders of the West, and its field of operation embraced the entire watershed of the Missouri above the mouth of the Platte. The territory indicated was rich in the resources of the chase and the success of the undertaking seemed assured. One obstacle was feared, the hostility of the Indians, but the company had provided a force considered sufficiently strong to repell any attacks, and it was hoped that the good will of the Indians might be gained by a liberal extension of trade among them.[2]

Disasters of the first expedition.—The first expedition of the company, numbering about one hundred and fifty men and carrying a quantity of merchandise sufficient to supply five or six posts and to equip several small outfits, left St. Louis in the spring of 1809. The

[2] "Journal of James H. Bradley" in the Montana Historical Society, *Contributions* (1896), II. 146-149.

winter was spent in the country of the Crow Indians, probably at the mouth of the Bighorn, where a profitable trading and trapping business was conducted. In the spring of 1810 a strong party set out for the headwaters of the Missouri. Arriving at the Three Forks they began at once the construction of a post on a strip of land between the Jefferson and Madison rivers about two miles above their confluence. The country was exceptionally rich in beaver, and the trappers had been sent out into the surrounding country immediately following the arrival of the party. For a while it looked as if the success of the expedition would exceed the expectations of the most sanguine members of the party. The daily catch was large and the company expected to take three hundred packs of beaver from Three Forks the first year. All of this optimism was quickly changed by the persistent and destructive attacks of the Blackfeet Indians. Men were killed, guns, ammunition, furs, and traps were stolen, and horses were driven off. After plans to win the Blackfeet had failed and further raids had resulted in the loss of additional lives it was considered advisable to abandon the post at Three Forks. Henry, who was a stockholder in the company, objected to withdrawing entirely from the country, and in the fall of 1810 moved southward across the Continental Divide and established himself on the north fork of the Snake River, a stream which has been known since that time as Henry Fork. Near the mouth of the Teton or Pierre River in southeastern Idaho, he constructed a temporary post consisting of a few log houses, which was probably the first American trading post ever built in the valley of the Columbia or west of the Continental Divide.

Reasons for failure of first organization.—Again, however, disappointment awaited the traders. Game was scarce and the winter was particularly severe, so that the spring of 1811 brought little but further dis-

couragement as a reward for all efforts. The party broke up into small groups and abandoned the undertaking. This ended the project upon which the company had relied mainly and it failed to realize the profits which had been anticipated. It had failed because of undercapitalization and poor management. Had the company agreed to admit John Jacob Astor, perhaps the only man who could have assisted them through the misfortunes of these early years and who had desired to take part in the enterprise, things might have been different.

End of Missouri Fur Company.—The St. Louis Missouri Fur Company had been formed March 9, 1809, and the articles of association provided for a term of three years. On January 24, 1812, it was reorganized and its property sold to the new company. The capital of the new organization was fixed at fifty thousand dollars, twenty-seven thousand dollars of which were taken in the funds and property of the old company. The balance was raised by subscription. Immediately after the reorganization plans were perfected for renewing operations on the upper Missouri. The expeditions sent out in 1812 were all disappointing and apparently another reorganization occurred the following year. If so, Lisa completely dominated the new company. In fact it is referred to frequently as "Manuel Lisa and Company." During the years of the war he had concentrated his establishments around Council Bluffs where he built the trading post, Fort Lisa. The War of 1812 absorbed the interest of the people during this period, and Lisa seems to have been the only active trader on the Missouri. Further reorganization took place in 1814, 1817, and 1819. After the reorganization in 1819, plans were developed again for opening trade on the upper Missouri. In the fall of 1821 Fort Benton was built at the mouth of the Bighorn on the site of the post formerly constructed there by Lisa.

This was the last post erected by the company. It continued its changing career a few years longer and passed out of existence. For approximately twenty-five years the Missouri Fur Company had existed under one name or another, and was the most important company that operated from St. Louis during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

In the meantime one of the world's greatest dealers in furs had initiated plans for conducting business in the Trans-Mississippi West. This was John Jacob Astor.

John Jacob Astor.—Astor was a foreigner by birth. He was born in the village of Waldorf near Heidelburg in 1763. He went to London at the age of sixteen or seventeen where he was employed with his brother in the manufacture and sale of musical instruments. A few years later he determined to come to America and in the spring of 1784 he arrived in Baltimore. His interest in the fur trade had been aroused while on shipboard and he turned his attention to it immediately. Taking with him a small stock of goods which he had brought over from London, he went to New York and exchanged them for furs. These he sold in England during the summer at a handsome profit. Meanwhile he informed himself on the prospects of the business both in America and in Europe, and upon his return to New York toward the end of 1784, he became actively engaged in the business of the fur trade. He showed an exceptional grasp of the possibilities of the industry from the beginning, and by the end of the century he had become the leading fur merchant in the United States and had amassed a fortune of half a million dollars.

Astor's early interest in Trans-Mississippi West.—The very nature of Astor's business gave him a keen interest in the Louisiana purchase and in the expedition of Lewis and Clark. The report of the latter indicated

that the new acquisition was rich in furs, and Astor began to lay plans for extending the business into the country west of the Mississippi. Unable to procure anything more than tacit encouragement from the United States government, he determined to operate alone. He secured a charter from the state of New York creating the American Fur Company in the spring of 1808. This general title apparently was chosen to include all his operations. According to his general plan a central post was to be established near the mouth of the Columbia (which evidently he considered a part of the territory of the United States) from which trade was to be carried into all parts of the interior. The post would receive its supplies from a ship sent out annually from New York. This vessel would collect the furs at the post, dispose of them in China, and return with goods for the home market. From this Pacific post Astor hoped to develop also a coastwise trade which would enable him to supply the Russians farther north. The Northwest Company would be unable to compete with him in the ocean trade because the British East India Company had a monopoly there, and he would have an advantage in overland communication because connection with St. Louis, which was to be the important station in the middle west, could be maintained more easily by way of the Missouri than could a line across the continent overland from Montreal.

Pacific Fur Company.—With these general plans in mind Astor immediately prepared to carry them out. The particular division of the American Fur Company devoted to this enterprise was called the Pacific Fur Company. In order to prevent competition Astor had invited the Northwest Company to join him in the undertaking, but this concern declined his offer and made immediate preparations to forestall him on the Columbia. Nevertheless, Astor organized his Pacific company largely with men from the British organiza-

tion. In June, 1810, the articles of the Pacific Fur Company were signed. Astor provided the funds up to four hundred thousand dollars, and agreed to bear all losses during the first five years. His associates, who were given fifty of the hundred shares of stock into which the company was divided, were to contribute their services. While the agreement was to cover a period of twenty years it might be dissolved within a period of five if found unprofitable.

Expedition by sea.—The perfected plans called for the organization of two expeditions, one to go to the mouth of the Columbia by sea and the other to cross the plains and the mountains by the route of the Lewis and Clark expedition. The ship chosen for the undertaking, the *Tonquin,* a vessel of two hundred and ninety tons, sailed from New York in September, 1810. She was accompanied for some distance by an American naval vessel to protect her against search by a British cruiser. Sailing by way of the Falkland and Hawaiian Islands, the *Tonquin* came to the Columbia during the latter part of March. After considerable delay and the loss of eight men, the little vessel anchored safely within the mouth of the Columbia. Some time was spent in choosing a site for a post. At last a selection was made on the south side of the bay, the effects brought out by the *Tonquin* were landed, a trading post constructed, and the establishment christened Astoria. Meanwhile the *Tonquin* sailed north to open trade with the natives along the coast, an expedition from which she never returned.[3]

Overland expedition.—The overland expedition was headed by W. P. Hunt. With a large party and adequate supplies Hunt left St. Louis on March 12, 1811.

[3] For accounts of the destruction of the *Tonquin* see Franchère, "Narrative" in Thwaite's *Western Travels,* VI. 288-294; Irving, *Astoria,* Chapter XI (author's revised ed.); Alexander Ross, "Oregon Settlers," Chapter IX, in Thwaites, *Western Travels,* VII.

On April 2, Lisa with a small party also left St. Louis to learn what had become of Andrew Henry and to bring down the winter's *cache* for the Missouri Fur Company. Lisa wanted the protection which Hunt's larger party might give in passing through the hostile country of the Sioux, and drove himself and his men mercilessly in an attempt to overtake Astor's expedition. Although Lisa made a record keel-boat trip up the Missouri he did not overtake Hunt until June 2, after the dangers he feared had been passed.[4] Ten days later the combined parties arrived at the Arikara villages.

Hunt had intended to ascend the Missouri River some distance farther, but information he had received from men who had joined his party *en route* induced him to change his plans. The dangers involved in attempting to pass through the country of the Blackfeet Indians were too great and he determined to make the most of the journey to the Columbia by land. This division necessitated a change in equipment. Accordingly Hunt traded some of his supplies and his boats to Lisa for horses and acquired others from the Indians. The reorganized expedition consisting of about sixty odd men and over a hundred horses started west during the early days of August.

The route.—The route lay along the northern border of the Black Hills and across the desolate wastes beyond the Bighorn Mountains. On August 30, the party arrived at the foot of this range and spent two days with a band of Crow Indians in the beautiful valleys of the foothills. Upon resuming the journey much difficulty was experienced in finding a passage through the mountains until they accepted the guidance of the Crow Indians for a distance. They came to the Wind River

[4] Brackenridge, H. M., "Journal of a Voyage up the River Missouri" in Thwaites, *Western Travels,* VI. Chapters I-V, gives an account of this famous race.

just above the canyon where its lower course becomes known as the Bighorn on September 9, and followed up the stream for a distance of eighty miles. On September 15 and 16 they crossed the Wind River Mountains, probably in the vicinity of Union Pass, into the upper valley of the Green River. A little more than a week was spent here laying in a supply of meat and resting the horses, and then they crossed the divide between the Green and Snake rivers, and followed the Hoback tributary of the latter to its junction with the Snake. At this point a strong desire seized members of the party to abandon the horses and continue the westward journey by water, but investigation proved that such an attempt would be unwise. On October 8, they arrived at the deserted post which had been built by Henry a few years earlier. Again there was a clamor among the men to leave the horses and trust themselves to the river, and this time Hunt made the mistake of yielding to these entreaties. Within ten days fifteen canoes were built and loaded and, having left their horses in charge of two Snake Indians, they embarked upon the rapid current of the Snake River.

The arrival at Astoria.—The delight which came from the experience of the first day was soon followed by gloomy forebodings. The true character of this treacherous mountain stream began to reveal itself, and after the loss of some goods and one life the party was compelled to abandon the canoes. The journey down the river and across the mountains was fraught with days of painful toil and intense suffering from hunger and thirst. The party had divided, one following the left bank of the stream and the other the right. On one or two occasions meager supplies of horse flesh were sent across the river from one division of the expedition to the other, but they were soon widely separated and each made its way alone, the general direction being down the Snake and Columbia rivers. One divi-

sion reached Astoria January 18, 1812, and the other, led by Hunt, arrived at the same place the fifteenth of the following month.[5]

End of the enterprise.—The post at Astoria had been completed when Hunt and his companions arrived at the mouth of the Columbia. Early in May following the second ship sent out by Astor, the *Beaver,* anchored in the river. She brought an abundant cargo, clerks, employees, and a number of Sandwich Islanders. Plans were made for opening trade with the Russians by sea and for extending the trade still farther into the interior. The success of the enterprise seemed assured when all was changed by the outbreak of war between the United States and Great Britain on June 18. News of this incident reached Astoria early in 1813. On the last day of the following November a British war vessel, the *Raccoon,* of twenty-six guns, commanded by Captain Black, appeared before Astoria. The post, however, had been sold to the Northwest Company, and the crestfallen captain could but vent his disappointment on the character of the fort which he had been sent half way round the world to capture. "Is this the fort about which I have heard so much talking?" he inquired contemptuously. "Damn me, but I'd batter it down in two hours with a four pounder!"

Since there was no occasion for battering it down the disgusted captain landed with a retinue of officers, took formal possession of the post, and rechristened it Fort George in honor of his king. This marked the end of the Pacific Fur Company and of Astor's operations in the Far Northwest. His plans had been well laid and had his government supported him in the enterprise

[5] Somewhat different accounts are given by Gabriel Franchère, "Narrative" in Thwaites, *Western Travels,* VI. 268-271, and Ewing, *Astoria* (author's rev. edition), Chapters XXXI-XXXVI. A brief summary of the route from the Arikara villages may be found in Chittenden, *American Fur Trade in the Far West,* I. 197-199.

there is reason to believe that the entire Pacific coast of North America would have been closed to Great Britain.[6]

The Rocky Mountain Fur Company.—During the last years of the existence of the Missouri Fur Company a new organization appeared in the western country composed of younger and more vigorous men. This was the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. According to Chittenden it came into existence through the following advertisement in the Missouri *Republican,* published in St. Louis, March 20, 1822:

> To enterprising young men—The subscriber wishes to engage one hundred young men to ascend the Missouri to its source, there to be employed for one, two, or three years. For particulars inquire of Major Andrew Henry, near the lead mines in the county of Washington, who will ascend with, and command, the party; or of the subscriber near St. Louis.
>
> (Signed) WILLIAM H. ASHLEY.[7]

A month and two days later licenses were recorded for both Ashley and Henry to trade in the upper Missouri country. The notice of March 20, was immediately effective and the desired number of men was enrolled. The plan already formed was to ascend to the Three Forks of the Missouri where the party would spend three years trapping all the streams in that region on both sides of the mountain, probably descending to the mouth of the Columbia during the period.

A new fur area opened.—The unfortunate experiences of the expedition that left St. Louis April 15, 1822, under the command of Andrew Henry, and of a second similar organization which followed under Ashley about a year later may be passed over. The hostility

[6] For a discussion of this *see* Chittenden, I. Chapter XIII.
[7] Quoted in *ibid.,* 262.

of the Indians prevented the company from successfully trapping the region in the immediate vicinity of the Three Forks, but farther south in the Green River valley they found a virgin field which was to afford some compensation for the losses they had experienced.

Jedediah S. Smith.—In the autumn of 1823 and during the following winter and spring members of the expedition found their way into the Green River valley and into the country around the Great Salt Lake. Here extensive explorations were made which contributed generously to the geographical knowledge of the Far West. Jedediah S. Smith was particularly prominent in the latter work. This "Christian and soldier" whose Bible and rifle "were his inseparable companions" and who never permitted the "mild teachings" of the former to diminish in any way the vigor with which he used the latter, was a pathfinder whose explorations have not been sufficiently recognized. To a greater extent than the majority of men he loved the adventure which came from exploring unknown territory. The call of the new West was in his blood and he spent the last ten years of his life visiting its valleys, following its streams, climbing its mountains, and penetrating the solitude of its desert wastes, finally meeting an untimely death at the hands of the Comanche Indians on the banks of the "thirsty Cimarron."

Explorations of 1824-1825.—Smith set out with a small party on an expedition in the spring of 1824 and crossed the mountains to the headwaters of the Snake River. The summer and autumn were spent in that vicinity during which time he came upon a party of Hudson Bay Company traders and secured their entire stock of furs. The winter was spent among the Flathead Indians, and at least one of the British fur trading posts was visited during the interval. In the autumn of 1824 Smith returned to St. Louis.

Origin of the rendezvous.—The misfortunes which had accompanied the early stages of the first expeditions did not prevent the Rocky Mountain Fur Company from experiencing a degree of success. A large quantity of beaver fur had been collected when the detached parties of trappers came together in the first of the famous rendezvous in the mountains in 1824. Henry took this to St. Louis, disposed of it, and returned to the mountains during the autumn. The expedition had not only produced a sufficient financial reward to justify further investments, but the experiences of members of the company had indicated that a change in the field of operation was advisable. The Missouri Fur Company was a formidable competitor in the upper Missouri country, and the explorations of Smith, Henry and Provost in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake resulted in the discovery of a region where beaver was plentiful. Ashley determined to concentrate his efforts in the latter place and to abandon the former. He also arranged to conduct the trade through itinerant trapping parties rather than to operate from trading posts. This new plan made it necessary to fix a place of meeting where the parties engaged in the trade could gather each year with the season's catch. In this way originated one of the most interesting features of the fur trade—the rendezvous of the mountains.

Change in the company.—In the new field and under the changed plan of operation the Rocky Mountain Fur Company enjoyed a brief period of prosperity. Ashley was the most prominent member of the concern during the early years of its history, but in 1826 he sold out to the most experienced of his assistants: Jedediah S. Smith, David E. Jackson, and William L. Sublette. The transfer of the business to Smith, Jackson, and Sublette marks the second period in the history of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. Immediately after the conclusion of the transaction, Smith set out on his

famous expedition to California, and the next three years were spent by him in perilous explorations. These have been noted elsewhere.

Competitors enter the field.—Meanwhile competitors were preparing to enter the field heretofore monopolized by the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. Reports of the marvelous success of the organization had quickened the interest of traders in St. Louis and had aroused the American Fur Company in New York. Secret agents of the latter were sent into the new area to spy out the land, and were followed by traders who openly competed for the wealth of the country. Wyeth had also entered the field, and while his opposition had amounted to nothing, a man of his energy was always dangerous. Then, too, Captain Bonneville appeared on the scene backed by New York capital. The good old days had passed. In the future competition was to be bitter and would probably ruin the business.

Dissolution of the company.—This condition was developing when the various parties left the rendezvous at Pierre's Hole in 1832. Numerous Indian outrages instigated by various competing companies show to what conditions the fur trade had descended. There was no honor in their dealings apparently and a man's life was worth little if he changed from one company to another. This bitter rivalry among the whites completely demoralized the Indians and caused them to lose all confidence in the former. Even the friendly tribes could no longer be trusted. All these things of course decreased the profits of the trade and discouraged the stockholders of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, and a plan for dissolving the partnership was worked out. The Rocky Mountain Fur Company may be said, therefore, to have ended with the annual rendezvous in the Green River valley in 1834.

The history of the organization covered only about twelve years, but they were immensely important in

the annals of western trade and in the development of the knowledge of the geography of the western country. It was this company that opened one of the richest fur regions in the West. It confined its efforts to procuring beaver fur almost entirely and secured these through its own trappers rather than by trade with the Indians. Probably a thousand packs of beaver worth approximately a half million of dollars found their way to St. Louis through the efforts of its members. The operations of its traders were carried on in the face of numerous perils and amidst severe hardships. During the term of the company's existence it lost a hundred of its employees, none of whom died a natural death, and property valued at one hundred thousand dollars.

An appreciation of its work.—The cause of geographical knowledge—concludes Chittenden—owes a great deal to this company. The whole country around the sources of the Platte, Green, Yellowstone, and Snake rivers and in the region around Great Salt Lake was opened up by them. Their adventurers gave names to the Sweetwater River, Independence Rock, Jackson Hole, and the tributaries of Green River and Great Salt Lake. They discovered this lake and also South Pass. They were the first to descend Green River by boat, and likewise the first, after Colter, to enter the Yellowstone Wonderland. They were the first to travel from Great Salt Lake southwesterly to southern California, the first to cross the Sierras and the deserts of Utah and Nevada between California and Great Salt Lake, and the first, so far as is known, to travel by land up the Pacific coast from San Francisco to the Columbia. They were indefatigable explorers and considering the fact that most of them made no records of what they did, the impress which they have left upon the geography of the West is surprisingly great.[8]

American Fur Company in St. Louis.—Meanwhile the American Fur Company, of which the Pacific Fur

[8] *Ibid.*, 306, 307.

Company was but a branch, continued to extend its business and its influence. During the winter of 1821-1822 it succeeded in having Congress abolish the factories or trading houses which the United States had established for trading with the Indians, thereby removing government competition and leaving the company a free hand to deal with private traders. Plans were then made to establish a branch at St. Louis, and in the spring of 1822 the Western Department of the American Fur Company was located in that city.

Competition with local companies.—This western branch of the American Fur Company had been established in the face of opposition from the St. Louis traders. It would, therefore, require time, work, and diplomatic management ere its hold on the Missouri trade could be made secure. Besides its fight with the solid opposition of the local traders, other strong concerns had recently established themselves at St. Louis and disputed the fur field with all competitors. The amount of business available could not support all the houses that had been established, and it was evident that there must be an elimination of some and a combination of others before the commercial struggle should end. In such a fight the American Fur Company possessed certain advantages. It had the most efficient business management in the country at that time and its resources were large. John Jacob Astor was in a position to secure the furs at a low price and to sell them in the world's best markets. He understood the business from all angles more thoroughly than any living man at that time, and since he *was* the American Fur Company the advantages of that organization are obvious.

Absorbs the Columbia Fur Company.—At first Astor placed his interest at St. Louis in the hands of David Stone and Company, or Stone, Bostwick and Company, as it was also called. At the end of three and

a half years he transferred the management of the Western Department to Bernard Pratte and Company, one of the old organizations and one which included some of the strongest traders in the business. This was in 1827. The new arrangement had scarcely been concluded when the American Fur Company found a formidable rival crossing its path. The opponent was the Columbia Fur Company, a concern about five years old which operated in the territory between the Great Lakes and the Missouri. The main field of competition in 1827, however, was in the Sioux and Omaha country. Both companies sent out expeditions from St. Louis and did business along the same line throughout the field. While the capital of the Columbia Fur Company was not large, the members of the organization were experienced and enterprising men and through their courageous efforts the company had grown too strong to be put down by the ordinary methods of competition. In fact it was estimated by members of the firm that the American Fur Company experienced an annual business injury amounting to ten thousand dollars through the competition of the Columbia Fur Company. As a result proposals were made for a union of the two companies and negotiations for this purpose were completed before the end of the summer of 1827.

Rivalry with Rocky Mountain Fur Company.—When this combination was formed the Rocky Mountain Fur Company had just received a remarkable collection of beaver skin from the Green River country. The phenomenal success of this local organization had roused the envy of its competitors and the American Fur Company determined to invade the territory from which wealth was taken so easily and in such generous amounts. Some officials of the concern wanted to enter the mountain trade immediately, but others maintained that the recent success of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company was too extraordinary to be taken as an

illustration of the general possibilities of the country. It was determined, therefore, to go slowly at first. A permanent post was erected at the mouth of the Yellowstone which would afford a convenient and safe base for operations into the mountain region. This was in the fall of 1828, and this post was the first built by the American Fur Company above the Mandans. It was called Fort Floyd, but the name was changed to Fort Union before the end of 1830.

Kenneth McKenzie was selected by the American Fur Company to take charge of operations in the upper Missouri country. It was congenial work to McKenzie who had been the staunch advocate for vigorously entering the mountain trade in 1827. While he was erecting a post at the mouth of the Yellowstone he was also watching carefully the rich fields toward the south from which Ashley had acquired wealth and fame. He could not attend to the business there himself, but he perfected plans for opening trade in the fall of 1828. Étienne Provost, who had fallen out with Ashley and his men in 1826, was sent to look up the trappers of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company with a view to bringing them to Fort Floyd. In the fall of 1828 the free trappers invited McKenzie to bring goods to a rendezvous, which they designated, for trade following the spring hunt of 1829. The request was transmitted to St. Louis and a party was organized for the purpose. It was under capable leadership and immediately opened trade in the mountains. In fact the appearance of this expedition marks the beginning of Astor's trade in the region heretofore dominated by the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. It was not, however, a profitable branch of the business because the competition it engendered was too keen.

Plans to enter the Blackfeet country.—There was another field in the upper Missouri region to which McKenzie also devoted considerable energy as soon as

he felt secure in his position at the mouth of the Yellowstone. This was the country of the Blackfeet in the vicinity of the Three Forks of the Missouri. It will be remembered that the Missouri Fur Company was driven from the territory by these warlike Indians on two different occasions, and Ashley and Henry met similar fates in 1822 and 1823. No intercourse of any kind had been opened with them by American Fur Traders even as late as 1830. If they were influenced by the whites at all, they were under the dominance of the British. The country itself was known to be rich in beaver and McKenzie was not the man to watch his British rivals extract the wealth from this virgin field unchallenged.

Fortune favored him in prosecuting the interests of his company in these new quarters. An old trapper who had formerly been in the employ of the Hudson Bay Company came to Fort Union and was employed by McKenzie in the fall of 1830. Berger was familiar with the customs, habits and language of the Blackfeet, and knew many of the Indians personally. It would have been difficult for McKenzie to have procured the services of another man who possessed so completely just the qualifications needed by the American Fur Company for opening communication and trade with the Blackfeet Indians.

Indians visit Fort Union.—Berger set out almost immediately for the upper Missouri country, and came upon an Indian village on the Marias River. His companions had been greatly perturbed over the undertaking from the first, and the sight of the hostile Blackfeet caused them to want to turn back. Berger insisted that the mission be carried out and his followers resigned themselves to their fate hardly expecting to survive the undertaking. But the Indians, who had appeared hostile at first, became most friendly when they discovered the name of the leader of the expedition.

Berger induced about forty of the Blackfeet, including several chiefs, to accompany him to Fort Union. The route was a long one and it required patience and tact on the part of the traders to prevent the red men from turning back before the destination was reached, but the feat was finally accomplished.

The conference between McKenzie and the Indians, which took place at Fort Union toward the end of 1830, changed the attitude of the red men toward the American trader. A few men were sent among them to carry on trade during the winter, and the following summer a post was erected on the Missouri at the mouth of the Marias River. This was called Fort Piegan A prosperous trade was conducted here during the winter of 1831-1832. The first ten days following the opening of the post for business, twenty-four hundred beaver skins were received. In the spring it became necessary to transport the winter's trade to Fort Union, and Fort Piegan was abandoned. When the traders returned to the mouth of the Marias in the summer of 1832 they found that Fort Piegan had been burned, and they moved about six miles farther up the Missouri and built Fort McKenzie on the north bank of the river. This post marked the permanent foothold of the American Fur Company in the Blackfeet country, and was occupied until near the close of the period.[9] Another post was built by Astor's organization at the mouth of the Bighorn in 1832 for the convenience of trade among the Crow Indians.

Fort Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone, Fort McKenzie on the Missouri near the mouth of the Marias, and Fort Cass on the Yellowstone at the mouth of

---

[9] "Affairs at Fort Benton from 1831 to 1869; from Lieut. Bradley's Journal" published in the Montana Historical Society, *Contributions,* I. 84; III. 201 ff. Elliott Coues (editor) *Forty Years of Fur Trade in the Upper Missouri; The Personal Narrative of Charles Larpenteur,* I. Chapter VII, particularly 109-116.

the Bighorn gave the American Fur Company as complete control of the upper Missouri as that organization ever had. The plans for building an establishment at Three Forks were never carried out because the development of the trade did not require that they should be.

Steamboats on the Missouri.—An incident which strengthened the influence of the American Fur Company among the Indians of the upper Missouri occurred in 1832. This was the appearance of a steamboat at Fort Union. In 1819 the first one had entered that river, and in the same year the *Western Engineer* reached Council Bluffs. However, the steamboat had been used but rarely on the Missouri before 1830, and practically not at all above the mouth of the Kansas River. McKenzie urged that it be used in the regular trade between St. Louis and Fort Union. He was opposed at first by officials in his own company, but he persisted until he won them over. The subject was presented to the central office in New York by Pierre Chouteau in great detail, and the plan was approved. A firm in Louisville, Kentucky, was given the contract to build a vessel suitable for such navigation and it was to be delivered in April, 1831. It was constructed within the time specified and was christened the *Yellowstone*.

The Yellowstone at Fort Union.—The *Yellowstone* left St. Louis on April 16, 1831, and had little or no difficulty until it passed the mouth of the Niobrara during the last days of May. Low water stopped it just above this point, and the protracted delay proved a source of great annoyance to Pierre Chouteau, Jr., who was the most important passenger on board. Daily he paced up and down the high bank scanning the western horizon and longing for a rise in the river, and since that time the place has been known as Chouteau Bluffs. A few light boats were finally sent down from Fort

Tecumseh, and after these had relieved the steamer of part of her cargo she was able to proceed to the fort, arriving there on June 19. That part of the trip between Council Bluffs and Fort Tecumseh was thus traversed by a steamer for the first time. No attempt was made to go farther up the river on this voyage, but in March, 1832, the *Yellowstone* again left St. Louis for the upper Missouri and arrived at Fort Union some time in June. By July 7 it was again at St. Louis, having made an average of a hundred miles a day on the downward trip.[10]

Its significance.—The voyage of 1832 gave great satisfaction to the American Fur Company and marked the beginning of regular steamboat navigation along the Missouri. Its appearance made a lasting impression upon the Indians and was a powerful factor in fostering the respect of the upper Missouri tribes for the Americans.

> Many of the Indians who had been in the habit of trading with the Hudson Bay Company [commented the *Missouri Republican*] declared that the company could no longer compete with the Americans, and concluded thereafter to bring all their skins to the latter; and said that the British might turn out their dogs and burn their sledges, as they would no longer be useful while the *Fire Boat* walked on the waters.[11]

Relation of the fur trader to the Indian.—The most successful fur trader used every effort to cultivate the friendship and good will of the Indian. If the latter belonged to a hostile tribe it was the business of the trader to win him over and make him a friend; if his tribe was amicable the trader had to use constant tact and diplomacy to retain his good will. In his letter

---

[10] Chittenden, Hiram M., *Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri*, I. 136-138.

[11] Quoted in Chittenden, *American Fur Trade*, I. 341.

to Clark, Manuel Lisa has outlined his own policy in dealing with the Indians, a policy which was no doubt generally used by others.

> I appear as a benefactor, and not as a pillager, of the Indians. I carried among them the seed of the large pompion, from which I have seen in their possession the fruit weighing one hundred and sixty pounds. Also the large bean, the potato, the turnip; and these vegetables now make a comfortable part of their subsistence, and this year I have promised to carry the plow. Besides, my blacksmiths work incessantly for them, charging nothing. I lend them traps, only demanding preference in their trade. My establishments are the refuge of the weak and of the old men no longer able to follow their lodges; and by these means I have acquired the confidence and friendship of these natives, and the consequent choice of their trade.[12]

Commercial trader of the Southwest.—There were many traders who did not do all that Lisa did (and it might be added that there were few if any who were as influential among the Indians as he), but all had the same aim in view. The good will and friendship of the Indian was essential to the most successful operation of the fur trade. This condition was not essential to the success of the commercial trader of the Southwest. His object was to avoid direct contact with the tribes if possible. The fur trader might prefer to operate alone,—the safety of the southwestern trade depended upon the numbers and organization of the companies engaged.

Beginning of trade with Southwest.—All attempts to open trade between St. Louis and the Southwest during the first two decades of the nineteenth century resulted in practical failure. In 1821, Spanish dominion in New Mexico came to an end, and American traders

[12] *See* "Letter from Manuel Lisa to General Clark," on the conduct of Lisa's office as Indian agent, written at St. Louis, July 1, 1817, in appendices of Chittenden, *American Fur Trade,* III. 899-902.

were permitted to visit Santa Fé. William Becknell was the first to learn of the possible profits to be derived from commerce under the new régime in Mexico. Accompanied by four companions Becknell left the vicinity of Franklin in 1821 [13] for the purpose of trading with the Comanche Indians. Near the mountains he fell in with a company of Mexican rangers who easily persuaded him to bring his goods to New Mexico. Although the Americans had but a small quantity of merchandise, the demand in this new market was so great that a handsome profit was easily made.

Other early expeditions.—Becknell's favorable report upon returning to Missouri aroused considerable interest in this new mart for commerce, and others determined to take part in this profitable trade. Braxton Cooper with a party of about fifteen and four or five thousand dollars' worth of goods, left the vicinity of Franklin in the latter part of April or early in May, 1822. He made the journey in safety and the majority of the members of the expedition returned during the following autumn. Becknell organized another party and left Arrow Rock near Franklin during the latter part of May, taking with him on this expedition a larger stock of goods than he had carried formerly and three wagons. He was stopped before he reached the Arkansas by the Osage Indians who threatened to confiscate his supplies. One of the members of the Chouteau family happened to be trading with the Indians at this time and through his influence Becknell's party was permitted to continue. The Missouri expedition was apparently joined by another when it reached the Arkansas River. The journey thence across the plains to San Miguel, the first Spanish settlement,

[13] Gregg, "Commerce of the Prairies" in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XIX. 177. William Becknell's "Journal" in the Missouri Historical Society. *Review* for January, 1910.

situated about fifty miles from Santa Fé, occupied about twenty-two days. The return probably took place in the following October or November and required about forty-eight days.

Use of wagons.—In commenting upon the historic significance of this expedition Chittenden calls attention to the fact that Becknell had opened a new route by going directly to San Miguel by way of the Cimarron River instead of following the Arkansas to the mountains and thence to Taos, besides having been the first to use wagons in the trade. "This last achievement was four years before Ashley took his wheeled cannon to the Salt Lake valley, eight years before Smith, Jackson, and Sublette took wagons to the Wind River, and ten years before Bonneville took them to Green River." [14]

Wagons were not used extensively, however, until 1824. In fact this was an eventful year in the history of the Santa Fé trade because of the great increase in the number of those who took part in it.

A profitable expedition.—In the early spring a company of adventurers assembled in Franklin, Missouri, for the purpose of discussing the organization of an expedition to Santa Fé. It was to be much more elaborate than heretofore, and the plans called for an extensive use of wagons. As a result of this meeting an expedition was formed consisting of about eighty men, over one hundred and fifty horses and mules, twenty-five wagons, and twenty-five or thirty thousand dollars' worth of merchandise. The company left the vicinity of Franklin about the middle of May, traveled a short distance beyond the settlements, and organized for crossing the plains. They arrived at Santa Fé toward the last of July where they spent an extraordinarily successful period in trade. The majority of the party

[14] Chittenden, *American Fur Trade*, II. 503, 504.

returned after a short stay in Sante Fé, reaching Franklin during the last of September and bringing with them one hundred and eighty thousand dollars in gold and silver, beside ten thousand dollars in furs. The effect of the astounding success of this enterprise upon general interest in the commerce of the prairies was immediate. It marked the beginning of a trade between the United States and Santa Fé which soon extended from the latter place south into Chihuahua and west to the Pacific coast through Los Angeles.

Road marked off.—During this same year an agitation began for laying out a road and providing military escorts for Santa Fé traders. Senator Benton introduced a bill in the last session of the eighteenth Congress which provided for building a road to the borders of Mexico through the Indian country. He was able to prove its importance to members of Congress by submitting a paper from Augustus Storrs, a Santa Fé trader. This document presented the progress and returns of the trade and indicated its importance as a branch of the commerce of the country.[15] Benton secured an appropriation of thirty thousand dollars, ten of which was to be used for marking the road and twenty for securing from the Indians the right of transit across their territories. The work was begun in 1825 and at the end of about three years the road was surveyed. Beginning at Fort Osage the surveyors used mounds of earth to mark the route to the great bend of the Arkansas, thence they followed the river to Taos. Although this was safer, the traders preferred the short cut across the desert from the Arkansas, in spite of the dangers involved. This part of the route across the Cimarron desert was not defined until 1834. A caravan

[15] *Niles Register*, XXVII. 312-316. *See also* Benton, *Thirty Years' View* (New York, 1854), Chapter XVI; *Debates of Congress, 18 Cong., 2d Sess., 7.*

crossing the plains after a heavy rain in that year cut deep ruts in the sand, after which the wagon track was plain enough. And the route marked off from Fort Osage to the Arkansas "seems to have been of but little service to travelers, who continued to follow the trail previously made by the wagons, which is now the settled road to the region of the short 'buffalo grass.' "[16]

Dangers of the trail.—The chief danger of this route across the Cimarron desert was from nomad Indians. Lured by the ammunition and horses invariably found among the supplies of the white traders, these prairie savages hovered about the moving caravan until they found an opportunity to take such livestock and articles of merchandise as they desired, after which they disappeared into the desert from which they came. Frequently this was not accomplished until the whites had killed one or more of the Indians. Sometimes the savages were beaten off after sacrifices on both sides. Occasionally they were followed and cut down in a most barbarous manner by the whites.[17] Such wanton cruelties bred a fierce hostility between the white man and the red. In a treaty negotiated at Council Grove in 1825, the Osage and Pawnee Indians agreed not to interfere with the caravans, for which they were given eight hundred dollars' worth of goods. The Comanches, however, would make no such promise. Like a plague they infested the trail, exterminating the whites whenever the opportunity was presented. If for the moment a wagon became unprotected or if a small group of hunters left the main caravan in pursuit of buffalo, these desert outlaws would swoop down upon them with a vindictiveness that was usually most disastrous in its consequences.

---

[16] Gregg, "Commerce of the Prairies," in Thwaites, *Western Travels*, XIX. 198.

[17] *Ibid.*, 184, 185.

Death of Smith.—It was under some such circumstances as this that Jedediah Smith, the veteran explorer and fur trader, lost his life. In the spring of 1831 he had entered the Santa Fé trade with his former partners, Jackson and Sublette, of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. Having been pioneers of the Rocky Mountains they concluded it would be easy enough to go where they liked. With some twenty odd wagons and about eighty men they started with their first train for Santa Fé. The beaten track to the Arkansas River was followed without difficulty or inconvenience, but from there to the Cimarron "not a single trail was to be found, save the innumerable buffalo paths, with which these plains are furrowed, and which are exceedingly perplexing to the bewildered prairie traveler." For several days the party wandered about the Cimarron desert in search of water. Smith finally determined to follow one of the "buffalo trails," hoping thereby to discover some stream or pond. After wandering many miles he came upon the Cimarron, but only a bed of dry sand greeted him. He soon scratched out a hole with his hands into which the water slowly oozed from the saturated sand. While attempting to quench his thirst he was killed by Comanche Indians.[18]

Appeals for government escort.—The losses experienced from Indian depredations together with loss of life occasionally led to appeals for government protection during the early years of the Santa Fé trade. The first proposal was for a military post on the boundary line, but the great difficulty in furnishing supplies for such an establishment, and the further fact that a garrison would be of little use except in the immediate vicinity, led to the abandonment of the idea.

---

[18] *Ibid.*, 236, 237.

An escort was adopted instead. In 1829 Major Bennett Riley was ordered to accompany the spring caravan as far as the boundary line. With four companies of the sixth infantry from Fort Leavenworth he set out on June 5, and a few days later joined the caravan at Round Grove. The entire expedition then proceeded to the Arkansas and followed up that stream to the vicinity of Chouteau Island. Here the road turned off into Mexican territory and the United States troops decided to go no farther. The caravan had hardly passed from sight when it was attacked by the Indians and horsemen brought a hasty appeal to Major Riley for help. The Indians were beaten off and the troops traveled a day longer with the traders and then returned to the Arkansas where they were to remain to accompany the caravan back to Missouri. Riley waited a day longer than the time agreed upon (October 10) and had set out for home when he was overtaken by horsemen who informed him of the returning caravan. A halt was made, and the caravan appeared accompanied by Mexican troops who had escorted the American traders through the hostile Indian country south of the Arkansas.

Reasons for its abandonment.—This policy did not meet with the approval of the authorities, however, for two reasons. In the first place officials believed that large caravans could protect themselves if they observed ordinary caution, and it would be impossible to provide escorts for every small party of traders who might desire to participate in overland commerce. In the second place, the escort could go only to the boundary between the two countries and the most dangerous part of the journey was through Mexican territory beyond. As a result the experiment was not repeated often after 1829. In fact the escort under Major Riley and another commanded by Cap-

tain Wharton in 1834 constituted the only government protection afforded the Santa Fé trader until 1843. During the latter year a large escort under Captain Cook afforded protection for two large caravans as far as the Arkansas River.

Formation of the caravan.—However, the dangers of the plains and the refusal of the authorities to provide escorts did not prevent the development of a successful trade with New Mexico. The Santa Fé expedition was an annual event of primary importance to the business men of St. Louis for a period of twenty years after the important caravan of 1824. The first outfitting station was Franklin, until that prosperous little frontier village was washed into the Missouri, and then Independence became the point of departure. After the era of steamboat navigation had begun on the Missouri the more convenient facilities for docking at Westport Landing drew all the river trade to that town. Early in the spring, usually about the first of April, independent parties under their respective leaders would begin to move toward Council Grove, "a luxuriant heavily timbered bottom of the Neosho" situated a hundred and fifty miles from Independence. Here the parties combined and organized for mutual protection across the plains. The picturesque scenes which accompanied the arrival, organization, and departure of the caravans from this famous rendezvous form a part of Josiah Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies*. Gregg is preëminently the historian of the Santa Fé trade. Having perfected their plans for the trip, the caravan left Council Grove in military order. The distance to the New Mexican mart was about seven hundred miles and usually took five or six weeks.

Tariff and profits from the trade.—The arrival of the caravan was the great event of the year for the citizens of Santa Fé. It brought in needed supplies

from the states, and the Americans were invariably the most generous patrons of the cafés and places of amusement. There were important transactions to be conducted, not only by the local merchants whose accumulated stock of furs and buffalo robes, wool, blankets, and mules was to be disposed of, but by the customs officials whose charge it was to collect the import duties. The Spanish traditions of venality and double-dealing held with the Mexican régime, and the merchants well understood that certain gratuities would secure the abatement of the prescribed tariff. The duties amounted to sixty per cent *ad valorem,* but in actual adjustment the trader usually got an abatement of one-third and the collector pocketed one third, so that not more than one third of the legal charge found its way into the public treasury. American goods sold at double the original price; but fortunate was the trader who, after customs, expenses, and incidental losses were deducted, realized a profit of forty per cent. The ordinary profits ranged from ten to twenty per cent.[19]

The authorities imposed burdens on the trade which arbitrarily reduced the proceeds therefrom. To keep the Apaches in check the governor of Chihuahua levied a *contribucion de guerra* in 1835, requiring twenty-five dollars from the Americans and five dollars from the natives. Arbitrary modifications were made in the existing taxing system with the view to throwing the whole burden of impost more and more on foreigners and naturalized citizens. In accordance with this plan the Mexican officials placed a tax of five hundred dollars on each freight wagon, but the Americans offset the effect of this somewhat by increasing the capacity of the wagon.

[19] Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West,* II. 85, 86.

Overland trade between New Mexico and California.—The trade was not limited to Santa Fé. This cosmopolitan little frontier town was but the center through which commerce passed. Indeed the American traders themselves occasionally extended their traffic to Chihuahua, and ere long commercial relations were established between Santa Fé and the Pacific coast. About 1830 Ewing Young and Wolfskill appeared in Los Angeles provided with a few blankets. These were exchanged for mules which were driven to New Mexico. The profits derived from this transaction together with the size and beauty of the mules when compared with those used in the Missouri-Santa Fé trade at that time, aroused an interest among the people of New Mexico, and resulted in the establishment of a trade which was carried on by means of caravans with more or less regularity for a period of several years. The traders brought serapes from New Mexico over the northern or Green or Virgin River route, through the Cajon Pass to Los Angeles where members of the expedition would separate and travel independently up and down the coast, trading their blankets not only for mules and horses, but for silks and other goods which had been imported on American vessels from China. Their trade completed, the members of the party would reassemble at Los Angeles preparatory to returning over the desert to New Mexico.[20]

It was a trade from which the Indian outlaws of the desert occasionally forced contributions. Indeed the caravans were organized to protect themselves against these marauders, and travelers frequently joined the companies in order to have greater security in crossing

[20] Warner, J. J., "Reminiscences of Early California, 1831-1846," in Historical Society of Southern California, *Annual Publications* (1906), VII. 189. See also Hittell, *History of California,* II. 155 and *An Historical Sketch of Los Angeles County* (Los Angeles, 1876), 18.

the desert. [21] These formidable organizations made the Indians more cautious but did not stop the raids. The Yumas like vultures hovered about the flanks of the moving columns or from the distance watched the formation of evening camps ready to pounce upon and plunder any small group that might become momentarily separated from the main body. The Paiutes in Utah adopted different means of procuring their share of the goods. Frémont has left a description of their methods. In May, 1844, while returning from his second expedition, he met a band of Paiutes who were "journeying slowly toward the Spanish trail, to levy their usual tribute upon the great California caravan. They were robbers of a higher order than those of the desert. They conducted their depredations with form, and under the color of trade, and tolls for passing through their country." [22]

Perhaps if there had been no other incentive to participate in the Santa Fé trade than the profits which the business afforded, some Americans engaged in it would have withdrawn. But this was not the case. The life itself appealed to the men. Gregg doubtless expressed the sentiment of many when he said that the commerce of the plains begot a passion for prairie life which he never expected to survive. The grip which it secured on these men is not difficult to understand. It afforded life in the open; it provided occasional thrills from skirmishes with the Indians; its dangers and hardships drew men together and friendships were

---

[21] Such a party had joined Frémont when he came over the trail in 1844. Frémont, John Charles, *Memoirs of my Life, Including in the Narrative Five Journeys of Western Explorations During the Years 1842, 1843-1844, 1845-1846-1847, 1848-1849, 1853-1854,* etc., Chicago, 1887, I. 370, 371.

[22] *Ibid.,* 386. When Frémont returned from his second expedition he traveled from southern California along the Spanish trail for a distance of over four hundred miles, endeavoring to camp each night at the established camping grounds of the annual California caravan. He considered himself particularly fortunate that year in that he traveled east ahead of the caravan thereby securing grazing for his horses. *Ibid.,* 369.

formed that were intimate and lasting. These and many other incentives enticed men into the life afforded by the Southwestern trade.

Bibliographical Notes

Fur Trade: Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West: a History of the Pioneer Trading Posts and Early Fur Companies of the Missouri Valley and the Rocky Mountains and of the Overland Commerce with Santa Fé,* 3 vols., New York, 1902, is the most satisfactory work on the subject. Washington Irving, *Astoria* and *Captain Bonneville* are unsurpassed in their respective fields. The title of the latter work as given by Irving was *The Rocky Mountains, or, Scenes, Incidents, and Adventures in the Far West; digested from the Journal of Captain B. L. E. Bonneville, of the Army of the United States, and Illustrated from Various other Sources.* It is practically a history of the operations of the fur companies in the Rocky Mountains during the important years 1832 to 1835. Other secondary authorities are George Bryce, *The Remarkable History of the Hudson Bay Company Including that of the French Traders of Northwestern Canada and of the Northwest, XY, and Astor Fur Companies,* London, (3rd Edition); Katherine Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West,* 2 vols., New York, 1912; Isaac Lippincott, *A Century and a Half of Fur Trade at St. Louis* in the Washington University *Studies* for April, 1916; Thomas Maitland Marshall, "St. Vrain's Expedition to the Gila in 1826," in H. Morse Stephens and Herbert E. Bolton, *The Pacific Ocean in History,* New York; Eugene Morrow Violette, *A History of Missouri,* 1918. Among the important journals which give first-hand information on the subject are the following: Elliott Coues (editor), *Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri; the Personal Narrative of Charles Larpenteur, 1833-1872,* 2 vols., New York, 1898; Harrison Clifford Dale (editor), *The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829,* Cleveland, 1918; Gabriel Franchère, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast, 1811-1814* and Alexander Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon* (VI, VII in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*); F. G. Young (editor), *The Correspondence and Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth, 1831-1836,* Eugene, Oregon, 1899; John C. Luttig, *Journal of a Fur-Trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri, 1812-1813,* Stella M. Drumm (editor), St. Louis, 1920.

Commerce in the Southwest: In addition to Chittenden, Coman, and Violette cited above, *see* the following: Henry Inman, *The Old Santa Fé Trail;* Frederic Logan Paxon, *The Last American Frontier,* New York, 1918; J. B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States,* V, VII; G. C. Broadhead, *The Santa Fé Trail* in *Missouri Historical Review,* July, 1910; C. M. Harvey, *Santa Fé Trail* (in the *Atlantic Monthly* CIV); Stephens, *The Santa Fé Trade* (in the *Missouri Historical Review,* July, 1916 and April-July, 1917, a study of the economic phases of the trade; Thomas Maitland Marshall, "Commercial Aspects of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition," in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for January, 1917; Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (published also as volumes XIX and XX of Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*) still ranks first in its field. W. H. Emory, "Notes of a Military Reconnoissance, from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California, including Part of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila Rivers," in *House Docs.* No. 41, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., Washington, 1848. An account of conditions in New Mexico at the time of the conquest may be found in the Journal. On trade conditions and on the population, see page 35. Other important primary material may be found in the *Missouri Historical Review* as follows: "Journals of Captain Thomas Becknell," January, 1910; F. A. Sampson (editor), "M. M. Marmaduke's Journal," October, 1911; Stephens (editor), "Major Alphonse Wetmore's Diary of a Journey to Santa Fé," July, 1914.

Additional material may be found in Channing, Hart, and Turner, *Guide,* sections 215, 216; Frederick Jackson Turner, *List of References on the History of the West,* 1913; in the preface to Chittenden, *American Fur Trade in the Far West;* Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West,* I, 415-418; and Henry R. Wagner, *The Plains and the Rockies: a Bibliography of Original Narrative of Travel and Adventure, 1800-1865,* San Francisco, 1921.

CHAPTER V

THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF TEXAS

Early American settlements in Texas.—Before the end of the eighteenth century Americans had pushed their way up the Red River and established themselves in the valleys of the streams along the Louisiana-Texas frontier. A pioneer of this vicinity claimed to have been there thirty years at the time Louisiana was purchased from France. A certain Edward Murphy received a grant of land on the Arroyo Hondo as early as 1791, and seven years later admitted to partnership Samuel Davenport, a certain Smith from New York, and William Barr of Pennsylvania. Apparently the association was formed for the purpose of ranching in connection with horse-trading which was carried on between Louisiana and Texas; and their privileges were extended in 1801 to include permission to trade with the friendly Indians living farther north. By 1803 Americans were occupying lands on Ayish Bayou west of the Sabine.[1]

Philip Nolan's expedition into Texas.—The American whose name is most intimately associated with early Texas, however, is that of the horse trader, Philip Nolan. A Texas historian states that Nolan had been engaged in trade between San Antonio and Natchez since 1785.[2] There can be little doubt that he made trading expeditions into Texas before 1800. He was intimately associated with General James Wilkinson, commander

[1] Cox, Isaac Joslin, "The Louisiana-Texas Frontier" in the Texas State Historical *Quarterly*, July, 1916, X. 60-61.

[2] Yoakum, H., *History of Texas from its First Settlement in 1685 to its Annexation to the United States*, 2 vols., X, 1856, I. 111.

in chief of the United States army, and the latter, although himself a secret pensioner of Spain, was ready to encourage any enterprise that might be directed against Louisiana or Mexico. It is possible, therefore, that Nolan may have been directed by Wilkinson. Was Jefferson interested in these intrusions? "If so," Garrison concludes, "he must have used Wilkinson's agency. The best support for inferences like this lies in the fact that a report on Texas such as Nolan might have been able to make if he had returned alive would have been quite useful to either Jefferson or Wilkinson, and the relations of Wilkinson with Jefferson on the one hand and Nolan on the other were such as might easily have been used to secure it." [3]

Jefferson's correspondence with Nolan's agent.— On June 24, 1798, Jefferson wrote Nolan from Philadelphia requesting information in regard to herds of wild horses in the country west of the Mississippi. The information was sought on behalf of the Philosophical Society of that city. This letter reached New Orleans while Nolan was absent on one of his excursions into the West. It was read by Daniel Clark, Jr., an intimate friend of Nolan. In his reply dated February 12, 1799, Clark assured Jefferson that Nolan would be pleased to give any information desired.

> I will be responsible for his giving you every information he has collected, and it will require all the good opinion you may have been led to entertain of his veracity not to have your belief staggered with the accounts you will receive of the numbers and habits of the horses of that country and the people who live in that neighborhood whose customs and ideas are as different from ours as those of the hordes of Grand Tartary. . . . In the meantime I must suggest to you the necessity of keeping to yourself for the present all the information that may be forwarded to you as the

[3] Garrison, George P., *Texas,* Boston, 1903 (Commonwealth series), 112, 113.

slightest hint would point out the channel from which it flowed and might probably be attended with the most fatal consequences to a man who will at all times have it in his power to render important services to the United States, and whom Nature seems to have formed for enterprises for which the rest of mankind are incapable.[4]

The writer assured Jefferson still further that in case an accident should prevent Nolan's return, the latter's papers which had been confided to Clark and a mutual friend "now in the Spanish service" would be examined immediately and "everything" relating to the Spanish country would be forwarded to Jefferson.

On May 22, 1800, Wilkinson wrote for Nolan a letter of introduction to Jefferson.

In the bearer of this letter—Mr. P. Nolan, you will behold the Mexican traveler, a specimen of whose discoveries, I had the honor to submit to you in the winter of 1797. Mr. N——'s subsequent excursions have been more extensive and his observations more accurate. He feels pride in offering himself to your investigation, and I am persuaded you will find pleasure, in his details of a country, the soil, clime, population, improvements and productions of which are so little known to us.[5]

The Nolan expedition of 1800.—This, it will be observed, was in May, 1800. In the following October, Nolan led an expedition from Natchez. Prior to his departure the United States authorities, at the request of the Spanish officials, made an investigation, but Nolan had his passport which prevented any interference from that quarter. The Consul then wrote to the Spanish commandant at Washita to arrest the party and the Americans were met by a force of fifty men, but the

[4] The Texas State Historical Association *Quarterly* (1903-1904), VII. 309, 310.

[5] *Ibid.*, 314.

Spaniards for some reason did not attempt to stop them. Nolan led his men into Texas as far as the Brazos where he camped and gathered about three hundred head of horses. Then a month was spent in a Comanche village on the south fork of the Red River. After returning to their camp they were attacked, March 21, 1801, by about one hundred men who had been sent against them from Nacogdoches. Nolan was killed in the early part of the engagement and the others were taken prisoners after a struggle of about three hours.

Outcome of the expedition.—At the time of the engagement the expedition consisted of fourteen Americans, seven Spaniards or Mexicans, two negroes, and a creole. Less than two-thirds of the number took part in the fighting. Three of the eleven Americans engaged escaped soon after the capture and the others were tried, and in January, 1804, the judge ordered their release. The commanding officer of the Internal Provinces objected to this and the subject was referred to the king. In February, 1807, the order came from the king that one out of each five of those engaged in the fighting was to be hanged. Since ten had been reported to him this would provide for the execution of two, but one of the ten had died while the decision was pending. The Mexican officials decided that the execution of one would fulfill the requirements of the law. Ephraim Blackburn, a Quaker, was chosen by lot to satisfy the demands, was baptized a Catholic, and was hanged at Chihuahua on November 11, 1807, more than six years after the battle was fought which resulted in his capture. The remainder of the prisoners, according to the decree of the king, were to spend ten years at hard labor. In fulfillment of this sentence they were placed in remote penal settlements from which places of obscurity only one of them subsequently appears in history. This was Ellis Bean whose *Memoir* is one of the

sources of information regarding the entire incident.[6]

The Southwest and Mexican independence.—A dozen years later another American expedition entered Texas. It was led by Bernado Gutierrez, a Mexican refugee, and Augustus Magee, an ex-lieutenant of the United States army, and was the most formidable of the American invasions. In fact it assumed the aspect of a genuine filibustering undertaking. For many years hostility had been growing between Americans and Spaniards along the border between the two countries. Throughout the southwestern part of the United States men were to be found anxiously waiting for an opportunity to strike a blow at Spain. Some of these were interested especially in Texas and were willing to assist Mexico in gaining her independence. It was not difficult, therefore, to find volunteers amongst them, when the proper moment came, who were eager to participate in any move across the border. Following the uprising led by Hidalgo their opportunity came.

The Gutierrez-Magee expedition.—Gutierrez had fled from Mexico with a commission from Hidalgo as lieutenant-colonel in the insurgent army and as envoy to the United States. This was in 1811. He accomplished nothing at Washington and soon returned to Natchitoches in the Southwest. Here he procured the coöperation of Magee who resigned his position in the United States army in order that he might be free to participate. One hundred and fifty odd adventurers from the Neutral Ground (a strip of territory finally established between the Sabine and the Arroyo Hondo, and later embodied in Louisiana after the treaty of 1819) gathered at convenient rendezvous ready to participate in the invasion. Gutierrez crossed the border at the head of this band in August and drove the Spanish troops from Nacogdoches. The people of this

[6] Bean's "Memoir" is published in the appendix of Yoakum's *History of Texas,* I.

little frontier village were apparently contented with a change of masters and even the Spanish troops manifested very little opposition to the American invasion but fled precipitately to the Spanish fort at the crossing of the Trinity, or the "Spanish Bluff" as it was called by the Americans. The latter followed and again the Spanish force retreated, surrendering the whole of eastern Texas to the insurgents.

A battle and a massacre.—Meanwhile the invading force had been growing. Magee remained behind to recruit and send forward reënforcements. The invaders who had numbered about five hundred before leaving Nacogdoches had increased to approximately eight hundred by the time they reached Spanish Bluff. An organization was effected at the latter place, and Gutierrez was made commander in chief with the real leader, Magee, second in command. Major Kemper and Captains Lockett, Perry, Ross, and Gaines were under Magee. A few months later the American expedition captured La Bahia where they secured a great deal of booty and were besieged by Salcedo, the governor of Texas, for four months. Nothing was gained by the Spanish officer and the loss experienced was severe, and early in 1813 the Americans were permitted to go. During the siege Magee had died and had been succeeded by Kemper, and about the time the siege was raised several hundred additional men joined the Americans from Nacogdoches and from the friendly Indians. This enlarged expedition engaged the Spanish force in the battle of Rosillo near San Antonio in March and defeated them. Following the surrender of the city occurred an incident all too frequent in the annals of frontier warfare. Salcedo and his staff had been captured. Gutierrez stated to the army that he thought it essential for their own safety to send the Spanish governor and his companions to New Orleans to remain on parole until the war was over. A guard

was selected and with the prisoners under the command of Captain Delgado started for Matagorda Bay where they were expected to take passage on board a United States vessel. But they were destined not to go far. When they had reached a point about a mile and a half below San Antonio the prisoners were stripped and tied and their throats cut. Besides Governor Salcedo, Herrera and Cordero, both ex-governors, were among the slain. It was a dastardly as well as a cowardly act! The Americans did not participate in it, and many of them had sufficient manhood to refuse to have anything more to do with the movement in Texas.

Defeat of Americans.—The expedition did not hold together long after this. They gained one more decisive victory and their numbers increased to approximately three thousand, including about eight hundred and fifty Americans; but in July, 1813, they were completely defeated by a royalist force of about two thousand men. The defeat was decisive. Of the Americans only about ninety-three returned to Natchitoches. The defeated forces were butchered in a most heartless manner. At Spanish Bluff on the Trinity the victors captured seventy or eighty prisoners. They were taken to a timbered area at the forks of the San Antonio and La Bahia roads where a long, deep grave was dug and a log thrown across it. The prisoners were then tied and placed on the timber ten at a time where they were shot. In all parts of Texas opponents of the Spanish régime were hunted down and punished. The town of Trinidad at Spanish Bluff was completely destroyed and many of the inhabitants butchered. Perhaps San Antonio witnessed the most barbarous scenes of the victorious Spanish troops. About seven hundred of the peaceable citizens of the town were imprisoned, three hundred of whom were confined in one house during the night of August 20, and eighteen suffocated.

Others were shot from day to day without any trial. Wives, daughters, and other women who had been friendly with the insurgents were taken also, about five hundred of them, and forced to cook for the victors. A little later a band of the victorious troops moved northward toward Nacogdoches murdering, plundering, and destroying as they went. This practically completed the destruction of the feeble efforts at colonization which had been going on for a century.[7]

The expedition of James Long.—The last American filibustering expedition to enter Texas was organized in 1819. The treaty of 1819 by which the United States acquired Florida and surrendered her claim to Texas was unpopular with a good many Americans, particularly those living in the southwestern part of the United States. These people had been interested in Texas to a greater extent than most of their countrymen, but this interest had waned considerably following the devastating war of 1812 to 1813. Perhaps the Spanish treaty of 1819 was largely responsible for reawakening the enthusiasm in that section. A public meeting was held at Natchez early in 1819, and a company was formed for invading Texas. The command of these volunteers was declined by General Adair of Kentucky, and was then accepted by James Long of Natchez. After some half-hearted attempts to stop him, Long left Natchez in June with seventy-five men and marched with his force to Nacogdoches without opposition. Meanwhile his followers had increased to three hundred. Among them were Samuel Davenport, who had been a contractor in the Magee expedition, and Bernardo Gutierrez, who had been one of the leaders of that enterprise.

Long's Republic.—At Nacogdoches the American leader organized a provisional government controlled by a supreme council of which Gutierrez was a mem-

[7] Garrison, *Texas*, 114-121.

ber. The council issued a proclamation declaring Texas to be a free and independent republic. A sort of administrative system was organized with provisions, among other things, for disposing of the public lands in such a way as to attract immigrants. After this had been arranged steps were taken to occupy the country. David Long, a brother of the leader, was sent to the upper crossing of the Trinidad with merchandise to trade with the Indians. Another leader was stationed on the same river at the Cooshattie village, and trading posts were established on the Brazos River. These trading posts established, Long turned his energy in another direction. He would feel more secure in his new government if he could gain the support of Lafitte. Messengers were sent to Galveston to lay the matter before the pirate-chief, but they received no aid. "Lafitte informed them that General Long had his best wishes for his success; that he himself had been engaged for eight years in waging war against royalists of Spain; but that the fate of Mina, Perry, and others, should be a warning against an invasion by land except with a considerable force." [8] Long then started for a personal conference with Lafitte but he was no more successful than his agents had been. While he was absent the Spanish troops broke up his posts and scattered his forces. Long escaped to Louisiana. He then moved his family to Natchitoches and went to Bolivar Point. Here on the Texas coast he placed his remaining followers in a fort and waited for the renewal of operations.

The revolutionary outbreak of 1821 brought the opportunity for which Long had waited. He formed a connection with the liberal leaders of Mexico and then led his forces into the heart of Texas. La Bahia was captured in October, 1821, but this ended his territorial conquest. He was compelled to surrender with some

[8] Yoakum, *History of Texas*, I. 200.

of his followers. The fact that he had taken part in the uprising against Spain gave Long and his men a certain prestige with the victorious revolutionists, however, and they were well treated. Soon afterwards Long was shot and killed by a Mexican soldier. His men were detained in the City of Mexico for some time and finally, through the influence of the United States minister, Poinsett, were given their liberty.

It became possible to enter Texas peaceably after Mexico's successful revolt from Spain so there was no longer any reason for organizing filibustering expeditions into the country. But the raids already made had left the province in a state of desolation. Nearly all signs of civilization east of San Antonio that had survived the raids of 1813 had been swept away. The intruders were all driven out and the country was laid waste. Supplies were obtained with great difficulty even in San Antonio. Nacogdoches had been almost completely destroyed by 1821, the population that remained consisting of a few Americans who had probably drifted in from the Neutral Ground. Such was the condition of Texas at the close of the second decade of the nineteenth century. But this was the period which marks the beginning of a new era for the Southwest—an era in which the permanent American settler and not the filibuster came upon the stage to play the important rôle. It was a period which marks the beginning of a movement that resulted in the revolution of 1836, in the annexation of Texas, in the Mexican War, in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; and this chain of events was a result of the work planned and initiated by Moses Austin and his son Stephen.

Moses Austin.—Moses Austin was born in Durham, Connecticut, about 1764. While quite young he had gone into business in Philadelphia. There in 1785 he married Miss Maria Brown of Morris County, New Jersey. His firm established a branch in Richmond,

Virginia, a little later, and Austin moved there. A few years were spent here and another move was made, this time to Wythe County in southwestern Virginia, where for a time he operated lead mines. It was while here that he received reports of lead mines west of the Mississippi. He secured a passport from the Spanish minister in Washington and in 1796, after a winter journey crowded with difficulties and dangers, he visited Ste. Genevieve. He received a grant of land, brought his family from Virginia, and settled near the present town of Potosi in the state of Missouri in 1798. The pioneer settlement established here by Austin grew and prospered in spite of attacks by Indians, and five years later the cession of Louisiana brought the new colony within the limits of the United States. Austin gave his attention and his energy to his mining business and prospered as he had not done before. In 1818, however, "in consequence of the failure of the St. Louis bank together with a number of heavy losses he had sustained by being security and unfortunate shipments he had made," [9] Austin experienced financial ruin, but his courage remained unshaken.

Plans to settle colony in Texas.—By the treaty of 1819 Texas was left in the hands of Spain. This, it seemed to Austin, would give validity to Spanish land grants made within the province, and he determined to establish a colony in Texas. He discussed the matter with his son Stephen, then a young man twenty-six years old, and the latter went south to establish a farm at Long Prairie on the Red River which was to serve as a basis for colonizing operations. But the farm project did not materialize and young Austin spent the years 1819 and 1820 in Arkansas Territory where he became a circuit judge. On a grant of land which he located here, his brother-in-law, James Bryan, sub-

[9] The Texas State Historical Association *Quarterly*, X. 345.

sequently laid off the town of Little Rock. In the summer of 1820 the father and son met at Little Rock and it was agreed that Moses Austin should go to San Antonio to prepare the way for the proposed colony, and that Stephen should go to New Orleans to gather immigrants.

Reception by Governor of Texas.—Moses Austin crossed the deserted wilderness of eastern Texas in the fall of 1820, and arrived at San Antonio after having made a journey of more than eight hundred miles on horseback. At first it seemed as if all his trouble and patience must go for naught. The Governor had received orders from his superior officer to keep all foreigners out of Texas, particularly Americans. "At the first interview my father received a most preëmptory order to leave Texas immediately," said Stephen Austin, " . . . the governor even refused to read the papers my father presented as evidence of his having formerly been a Spanish subject in Louisiana, and repeated his order, with much asperity and some passion, to leave Texas immediately."[10] Austin was on the point of complying with this order when he met an old acquaintance of Louisiana, Baron de Bastrop, who was living in poverty at Bexar. Through the influence of this man, Austin was granted another interview with the Governor. The arguments used have not been related but shortly afterward the order for immediate departure was suspended, the colonization scheme was explained, and the Governor and *ayuntamiento* of San Antonio united in approving Austin's petition to the authorities of the Eastern Internal Provinces for the right to settle three hundred American families in Texas.

---

[10] Quoted in Bryan, Guy M., "Sketches of Moses Austin and Stephen F. Austin, with an Account of their Colonization Enterprise" in *A Comprehensive History of Texas, 1685-1897* (D. G. Wooten, editor), 2 vols., Dallas, 1898, I. 442.

Death of Moses Austin.—This ended Moses Austin's contribution to Texas. Remaining in San Antonio would do no good, and he determined to return home to await results. The return journey in the winter was even more difficult and trying than the trip of the preceding fall had been. The hardships he had experienced by the time he reached Missouri were so severe that his health was permanently impaired, and on June 10, 1821, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, he died. A short time before his death he received word from Governor Martinez that the proposed grant of land had been authorized by a decree of the viceroy of New Spain, and he was in the midst of plans for another visit to Texas when the end came.

Stephen Fuller Austin.—Austin, who now took up his father's work, was born in Virginia on November 3, 1793. He received his early education in Connecticut and spent two years in college in Kentucky. When about eighteen years of age he returned to Missouri to help his father. He became a member of the territorial legislature of Missouri at the age of twenty, a position which he retained for six years. Following the failure of his father, as we have seen already, young Austin became interested in the proposed settlement of Texas, and left home for Arkansas to arrange there for carrying on the enterprise. While the plans were being matured he served as circuit judge of the territory, a position which he held for eighteen months, and later went to New Orleans to assemble and send forward a company of settlers. Austin had a pleasing personality, a winning smile, and a simple dignity combined with an "unconscious magnetic bearing and influence among men" which won for him almost universal praise.[11]

---

[11] *Ibid.*, I. 500. Texas State Historical Association *Quarterly*, III. 6-10.

His entrance into Texas.—Young Austin remained in New Orleans for six months. At the end of that time he learned that a grant had been authorized and on June 18, 1821, eight days after his father's death, an event of which he was still entirely ignorant, he started for Natchitoches where he had agreed to meet him. He met two commissioners there from San Antonio who had come from the Governor to conduct the expedition into Texas. Austin remained a few days in Natchitoches and started to enter Texas with a party of a dozen men. Just before he reached the Sabine he received word of the death of his father and turned back to obtain more certain information. He found that the letters he expected had been already forwarded and immediately retraced his steps to overtake his men. Here he learned that the reports were true. Despite this he pushed on to Nacogdoches and to San Antonio. In the country between the Sabine and Nacogdoches he found very few American settlers, and the village itself was in ruins, only one church and seven houses remaining of a once prosperous village. Beyond Nacogdoches he found two families settled and these were the last between there and San Antonio. The journey of two hundred and fifty miles of wilderness took twenty-two days and was made without molestation from the Indians. On August 12, 1821, Austin rode into San Antonio, just in time to witness the rejoicing caused by the news of the independence of Mexico.

Succeeds his father as contractor.—Austin informed Governor Martinez of his father's death and asked that he be recognized as the *empresario* with the privilege of carrying out the contract. Martinez readily complied with this request. The terms under which he was permitted to colonize were exceedingly liberal. He might take any quantity of land he required and he might choose it from any location he desired without payment of any kind to the government. The official

decree of January 17, 1821, declared that it would be very expedient "to grant the permission solicited by Moses Austin that the three hundred families which he says are desirous to do so should remove and settle in the province of Texas," upon the following simple conditions:

> . . . if to the first and principal requisite of being Catholics, or agreeing to become so, before entering the Spanish territory, they also add that of accrediting their good character and habits, as is offered in said petition, and taking the necessary oath to be obedient in all things to the government, to take up arms in its defense against all kinds of enemies, and to be faithful to the King, and to observe the political constitution of the Spanish Monarchy, the most flattering hopes may be formed that the said Province will receive an important augmentation in agriculture, industry and arts. . . .[12]

Plans of the proposed settlement.—At the request of the Governor, Austin drew up a sketch of his plans. According to this document each head of a family was to have six hundred and forty acres for himself besides three hundred and twenty for his wife, one hundred and sixty for each child, and eighty for each slave. Six hundred and forty acres would be given each single man twenty-one years or over. The plan was approved by Martinez, and two days after Austin's arrival in Bexar he received a letter from the Governor authorizing him to proceed to the Colorado and select a place for his three hundred families. The site chosen was along the lower course of the Brazos and the Colorado rivers.

Plans advertised.—Austin then turned his energy to colonization. Upon his return to Louisiana in the late fall he advertised his proposals as indicated above, with the further condition that each settler would be

---

[12] *Ibid.*, I. 470.

required to pay the *empresario* twelve and a half cents an acre for the land. This additional provision was for the purpose of creating a fund which was to pay the expenses of the enterprise and compensate Austin for his services. Martinez had been consulted regarding this phase of the conditions of the settlement and had said that he saw nothing improper in it providing each colonist were informed of it before he migrated, but he refused to say what the attitude of the superior authorities might be.

Hardships of the early settlers.—By December, 1821, Austin had conducted the first party of settlers to the banks of the lower Brazos and here was established the earliest Anglo-American settlement in Texas. The dangers and privations experienced by American pioneers from the days of Sir Walter Raleigh were faced by the colonists on the Brazos, except that the more tropical latitude relieved them of the prolonged rigors of a northern winter. Austin had conducted an expedition overland, but before leaving New Orleans he had arranged to send immigrants and supplies by boat. The *Lively,* chartered for the purpose, was to land at the mouth of the Colorado. In commenting on these early experiences of the colonists Austin said the *Lively* failed to serve them in any way because "those who commanded the first vessels did not find the appointed place of rendezvous, the mouth of the Colorado." [13] A cargo which reached this place in the fall of 1822 was destroyed by the Indians soon after it was landed and four of the men were killed. As a result of this loss the settlers were forced to go to the Sabine or to Bexar for seed corn. It was very scarce at the latter place. Of corn for food, the colonists had

[13] For a discussion of expedition of the *Lively* see the following articles in Texas State Historical Association *Quarterly,* III: "The Adventures of the *Lively* Immigrants," 1-32, 81-107; and "What Became of the *Lively,*" 141-148.

none, and "coffee, sugar, etc., were remembered, and hoped for at some future day. There was no other dependence for subsistence but the wild game such as buffalo, bear, deer, turkeys and wild horses. . . ." The Indians around them and in the midst of them "were beggarly and insolent and were only restrained the first two years by presents, forbearance, and policy; there was not force enough to awe them." [14] In addition to these difficulties Austin soon had the unpleasant experience of finding himself in conflict with the rulers of the country.

Austin compelled to have grant confirmed by the Mexican Congress. — Up to this time the basis for Austin's procedure had been nothing more definite than a letter from Governor Martinez. Apparently he had not considered a formal grant necessary. He was very much surprised and embarrassed, therefore, when he arrived in Bexar again, in March, 1822, to be told that it would be necessary for him to have his grant confirmed by the Mexican Congress. It was useless to protest, so he left the settlement in charge of Josiah H. Bell and set out on a tedious ride of twelve hundred miles through a country which was at the time virtually without law and order. He arrived in the City of Mexico on April 22.

Perhaps no other period of Austin's experiences portrays so vividly the qualifications of the man for the task he had undertaken as the year spent in the Mexican capital. The mission which he had expected would require but a few months occupied a year. Confusion reigned in Mexico during this turbulent period and no man knew what a day would bring forth. But throughout all the trials and disappointments of the twelve months Austin proved himself equal to the demands of the changing events. When events required delay

[14] *Comprehensive History of Texas*, I. 450, 451.

he waited patiently; when circumstances demanded exertion he worked energetically. His case was referred to the Mexican Congress by the provisional regency that ruled in the period immediately following independence, and a general colonization law was under discussion in that body when it was superseded by a legislative committee—a *junta instituyente* which was chosen by the Emperor Iturbide from members of Congress. This committee passed a general colonization law which was promulgated in January, 1823.[15] Austin had expected to have provisions made for his own colony through special legislation, but other Americans were in Mexico soliciting grants similar in character to his own and the authorities determined to enact a general law.

Terms of the grant.—Very soon after the law was passed Austin obtained an imperial decree confirming his grant, and he was about to start on his return to Texas when another revolution unseated Iturbide and Austin had to resume his policy of patient waiting. Once more the subject was brought before Congress. In April that body suspended the general law, passed Austin's case to the executive head of the government, and the grant was confirmed two or three days later. The law provided that to each of three hundred families one *labor* (177 acres of land) should be given for farming and twenty-four more *labors* for stock-raising. The total amount was a *sitio* or square league. More might be given those who had many children or might

[15] A summary of the act is given by Rives, *United States and Mexico*, I. 139, 140. The law itself, together with other documents bearing on the subject, may be found in Joseph M. White, *A New Collection of Laws, Charters and Local Ordinances of the Government of Great Britain, France, and Spain, Relating to the Concessions of Land in their respective Colonies; together with the Laws of Mexico and Texas on the same subject*, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1839.

The most convenient collection of laws on the subject is H. P. N. Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, I, Austin, 1898. Spanish collection is Dublan y Lozano, *Legislaçion Mexicana*.

deserve special consideration. The land was to be designated and laid out by the governor of Texas. A town to be founded by Austin was to be located conveniently for the colonists, who were to be Roman Catholics and of steady habits.[16] Austin was to organize the colonists as a body of national militia, to administer justice and preserve order.

The American settlements.—Austin returned to his colonists in August, 1823, and found them in a sad plight. Many of the original settlers had returned to their homes in the states and the new recruits who should have come had stopped at Nacogdoches and in other settlements between there and the Brazos. But Austin did not permit himself to become discouraged. He took up his duties courageously and ere long the settlers began to come in once more. No territorial restrictions had been placed on the colonists. They might choose their lands from any section they desired. As a result they were soon scattered over the extensive region bounded by the San Jacinto and Lavaca rivers on the east and west, by the Gulf on the south, and on the north by the San Antonio-Nacogdoches trail. The capital of the settlement and the principal center of Anglo-American interests in Texas until the revolution of 1836 was San Felipe de Austin. This town was established on the Brazos River at a point about one hundred and fifty miles east of Bexar, and is not to be confused with the present city of Austin on the Colorado which was a much later settlement.

Government of the colony.—The government of the colony was not without its difficulties. The decree of February 18, 1823, placed the responsibility for administrative justice upon Austin until a government was organized for the settlement. The supreme executive power that succeeded Iturbide confirmed this on

[16] Rives, *United States and Mexico*, I. 141-143.

April 14. In May, 1823, while at Monterey *en route* home, Austin sought a clearer definition of his duties. The result of his inquiries as summed up by himself was a decree from his superiors placing upon him the responsibility for preserving good order and for governing the colony in all civil, judicial, and military matters, according to justice and his own best judgment. He was to keep in close communication with the governor of Texas, and be ready to furnish any information pertaining to the government of his colony which his superiors might require. Thus the local government was placed in his charge with liberal powers, but with no written laws or specific instructions to guide him.[17] When he reached home Austin found that the successor of Martinez, Governor Trespalacios, had divided the colony into two districts with an *alcalde* in each to look after the details of local administration and justice. One of these was on the Brazos and the other on the Colorado. Austin sub-divided the Brazos district and made a third in December, 1823, which he called San Felipe. Other changes were made from time to time so that by 1828 seven districts had been formed. The chief administrative responsibility in each district was assumed by an *alcalde* assisted by a constable. Austin drew up a set of "Instructions and Regulations" for the *alcaldes* which constituted a brief civil and criminal code.

Annoyance of the land problem.—The land problem received Austin's closest attention and yet brought more annoyance than any other with which he had to contend. According to the terms of his first contract he was given considerable discretion in making allotments of land to settlers. In exercising his prerogative he allotted larger tracts to some than to others and was

[17] Barker, Eugene C., "The Government of Austin's Colony, 1821-1831" in The Southwestern Historical Association *Quarterly* (January, 1918), XXI. 226.

accused of being partial and unfair as a result. He knew the difficulties and inconveniences experienced by the early settlers of Kentucky and Tennessee, "and the orderly surveys and necessary formalities and restrictions which he insisted upon to prevent such a condition in Texas seemed to some who could not understand their beneficient purpose merely irritating interference of a petty tyrant." [18] The principal trouble came from the fee of twelve and a half cents an acre which Austin exacted. His colonists abused him for this, but the expenses and responsibilities of the undertaking seem to have justified him in asking this small remuneration.

The frequent criticism which accompanied the administrative responsibilities of this small frontier community was undoubtedly irritating. It must have given Austin genuine pleasure, therefore, to call an election for an *ayuntamiento* with jurisdiction from the Lavaca to the watershed between the Trinity and the San Jacinto and from the sea to the San Antonio road to be held on the third and fourth days of February, 1828. The provisions for local government which were given in sections six and seven of the constitution drawn up after the overthrow of Iturbide had not been extended to Austin's colony. While he was in Saltillo in the fall of 1827 he urged the authorities to grant this extension, and it was in compliance with this request that his administrative superiors, on December 11, transmitted the order which permitted him to call the election for the following February.

First constitutional election in Anglo-American Texas.—What followed was the first constitutional election ever held in Anglo-American Texas. Under the presidency of the respective *alcaldes* polls were opened in the old *alcalde* districts, and a secretary and

[18] *Ibid.*, 233. For a discussion of this *see ibid.*, 228-233.

two tellers were chosen. Single men were eligible for office at the age of twenty-five years, married men at the age of twenty-one, providing, in either case, they had resided in the municipality three years, at least one of which immediately preceded the election; provided further they could read and write and had capital or a trade which made them self-supporting. Qualifications for exercising the franchise were probably the same. The names of their respective candidates were called aloud by the voters and were recorded by the secretary. The officers elected consisted of an *alcalde* and two *regidores,* and if the district contained five hundred inhabitants a *comisario* and a *sindico procurador.* For each office separate tallies were sent to Austin after the election, he having the position in the first election which was held by the *alcalde* of the municipality thereafter. The officers of the district met at San Felipe a week after the elections, canvassed the votes, and announced the successful candidates. A certified copy of the results of the election was sent to the political chief, another was posted in a public place, and the original lists were filed in the local archives.

Work of the ayuntamiento.—A study of the minutes of the *ayuntamiento* of San Felipe for the next three years, Dr. Barker writes, shows it "performing the various functions of a modern city and county commission: laying off roads and supervising their construction; regulating ferries and ferriage rates; creating boards of health, boards of medical examiners, and quarantine boards; regulating weights and measures; repairing churches and public buildings; directing militia organization; holding special elections and settling election disputes; serving generally as a conservator of public morals, first warning and then punishing vagrants and drunkards, enforcing the laws against gambling and other forms of vice, and closing 'tippling shops' at ten o'clock. It assisted Austin in

keeping the colony free of undesirables, advising when to grant and when to withhold titles of land; and relieved him of no little responsibility in deciding when titles should be forfeited for non-fulfilment of the conditions of the grant. Finally, it strove earnestly, but without success, to raise funds for the establishment of an academy at San Felipe." [19]

Austin's colony was the first of several similar settlements which were brought into Mexican territory under the auspices of the government and were given liberal grants of public lands, but it differed from the others legally because it was established under a special instead of a general law. A brief summary of the general statutes under which other grants were made is therefore in order.

National colonization law of 1824.—It will be remembered that the resolution of the Mexican Congress of April 11, 1823, which authorized that Iturbide's grant to Austin should be confirmed, also provided for suspending the imperial colonization law of 1823 in all other cases. But no action was taken until August, 1824, At that time the national colonization law of 1824 was passed. This replaced the imperial act of 1823, and became the rule for regulating the subject so far as the federal authority was concerned.

The new law laid down certain general conditions, and the detailed legislation on the subject was left to the individual states. Foreigners who came to establish themselves within the territory were to be given security to their person and property, provided they conformed to the laws of the country. These provisions excluded from colonization a strip of territory ten leagues wide along the coast and twenty along the boundary of any foreign country, except by approval of the national executive; required that preference be given

[19] *Ibid.*, 249.

Mexican citizens in all distributions of lands; placed a limit on the amount of land which each individual might hold; required that no tax be imposed on foreigners for a period of four years; and that no one acquiring a title to land under the law should be permitted to retain the land if he did not reside in the republic. Two other clauses in the act seem to imply that Mexicans had already begun to distrust Americans. These ran as follows:

> Art. 7. Before the year 1840, the general Congress cannot prohibit the entrance of foreigners as colonists, unless imperious circumstances should compel it to do so with respect to the individuals of some particular nation.
>
> Art. 8. The government, without prejudice to the object of this law, shall take such precautionary measures as it may deem expedient for the security of the confederation, in respect to foreigners who may settle within it.[20]

Colonization act of Coahuila and Texas.—In compliance with the terms of the statute, Coahuila and Texas enacted a local colonization law on March 24, 1825. Under the latter enactment foreigners were invited to enter, and were guaranteed security of person and property with the right to choose and follow any calling they desired. They must take the oath to obey the federal and state constitutions, and observe the Catholic faith. Statements of their age and place of birth must be furnished, and they must present certificates from authorities of the places from whence they came that they were of good Christian character. Men who proposed to bring into the country, at their own expense, one hundred families or more, were expected to present their proposals to the state government. If these were found acceptable the state would select the

[20] Quoted in Rives, *United States and Mexico*, I. 146.

location for the settlement and would guarantee to all families brought in by the *empresario* the strict execution of the contract. *Empresarios* were to receive five *sitios* (22,140 acres) of grazing land, and five *labors* (886 acres) of arable land for each one hundred families brought into the state. Except in case of hostile invasion, colonists were to be exempt from all taxes and duties for a period of ten years. Details for administering the act were carefully regulated, including provisions for a small payment for allotments by settlers. At the time the law was under consideration a considerable controversy was produced over the slavery question. Baron de Bastrop, who was the representative from Texas at the time, strenuously advocated its permission. As finally enacted, article forty-six of the law said "new settlers shall subject themselves to the laws that are now, and shall be hereafter established on the subject.[21]

By the time this law was passed the success of Austin's colony had been assured, and men who had sought grants at an earlier period were eager to take advantage of the opportunity which the new law afforded. Among these the most successful and influential was Green De Witt.

De Witt grant.—De Witt was probably in Mexico as early as 1822, attempting to obtain an *empresario* similar to the one which had been granted Austin. The general law of 1824 made it unnecessary for him to petition the central government any further. The next step in carrying out his plan was to make application to the state officials at Saltillo. On April 7, 1825, he submitted a petition requesting the authority to settle four hundred families southwest of Austin's colony. A letter from Austin secured the influence of Baron de

[21] *Ibid.*, 146, 147.

Bastrop, who was a member of the state congress of Coahuila and Texas, and favorable action was taken by that body on April 15, 1825, less than a month after the passage of the state law.

Founding of Gonzales.—Apparently there was never any doubt in De Witt's mind as to the outcome of his petition. Even before he presented it he began to make preparations for the settlement of his colony. A surveyor-general, James Kerr, was appointed who turned to locating a spot upon which to found a capital. The site chosen was on a little creek, since known as Kerr's Creek, about two and one-half miles east of the junction of the San Marcos and Guadalupe rivers. Cabins were erected here in August, 1825. Kerr then drew plans for the town which he christened Gonzales in honor of Don Rafael Gonzales who was the provisional governor of Coahuila and Texas. The early settlers at Gonzales were the only Anglo-Americans west of the Colorado, and their nearest neighbors were the De Leon Mexican colonists sixty miles to the southwest. Bexar, the nearest settlement to the west, was seventy-eight miles distant. This little frontier settlement, so completely isolated as it was, could hardly expect to escape ravages by the Indians. While some of the colonists were attending a celebration on the Colorado, July 4, 1826, the Indian attack came which resulted in breaking up the settlement. No further attempt was made to occupy that section until the end of the year. In the early part of 1827 some of the original settlers returned. They coöperated with new immigrants in building blockhouses and constructing a small fort in which to take refuge in case of another Indian attack. A settlement which had been made at the mouth of the Lavaca River broke up in December, and the inhabitants sought refuge in Gonzales. Henceforth the colony grew rapidly. More than one hundred families

arrived during the next three years, and in 1832 the town tract, containing four square leagues, was surveyed.[22]

About the time De Witt secured his concession another large grant was made to a representative of a Stock Company of Nashville, Tennessee. In 1830 Robertson became interested in the enterprise, and De Witt and Robertson counties in modern Texas indicate roughly the regions in which these two *empresarios* carried on their operations. By 1832 "dozens" of grants "were secured by men who proposed to bring in many thousand families." Three additional concessions were obtained by Austin, and one more in conjunction with a partner, Samuel M. Williams. The map of Texas, from the Sabine to the Nueces, was covered with claims of *empresarios* during this period "as if it had been a gold mining region and they the prospectors. Ere long it was difficult to find room for another." [23]

Other concessions and population of Texas.—It must not be concluded, however, that crowds of immigrants came from the United States to occupy these grants. Even with the most restricted boundaries ever assigned it, Texas covers extensive territory, and it would require many thousands of people to make a showing on its surface. Altogether eight contracts were entered into by the state authorities under the colonization act of 1825, which provided for introducing twenty-nine hundred families. While these contracts were substantially carried out in so far as the number of families was concerned, there were many more which were not carried out with any degree of success. Austin's was of course the most important. De Witt's lying west of Austin's has been noted. De Leon's colony, settled by Mexicans, was adjacent to the coast,

[22] Rather, Ethel Zivley, "De Witt's Colony" in Texas State Historical Association *Quarterly*, VIII. 101, 102.

[23] Garrison, *Texas*, 155.

Longitude West from Washington
NEW MEXICO
OZARK DISTRICT
ARKANSAS
CAMERON'S GRANT
IMMENSE PRAIRIES
Touwiash Village
Peccan Pt.
Col. B. R. Milam before entering on the duties of his second grant fell at the storming of Ft. Alamo (St. Antonio de Bexar) Dec. 10, 1835
Washington
Fulton
Road to Little Rock
Raft, now removed
Caddo Village
Cherokee Village
Salt Spring
Nacogdoches
Natchitoches
Ft. Jessup
San Augustine
Road to Alexandria
Zavalla
Alabama
Cushatte
Sulphur Springs
Tinoxtitla
Mexican Post
Waco Village
Bosque
Gt. Falls
Brazos Peak
High Peak
Pecan
Colorado
Rio Navasoto
Rio Brazos
Rio Colorado
Rio Pasigono
Rio Pisapejunova
Rio Tahcajunova
Copper Mine
Saline L.
Taray
Tinpisarahca
Keriachehunova
Immense Herds of Buffalo
Little Wishetaw R.
Big Wishetaw R.
Red River
False Washita R.
Blue R.
Boggy Cr.
Saline R.
Little R.
Caddo L.
Iron Ore
Red Fork
Noland
Pecan
Andreas
San Gabriel
Cow Cr.
Angelina
Big Cr.
Gt. Cr.
Aguila
Pasigono
Rio Tahcajunova
LEVEL PRAIRIES
CHIHUAHUA
ANAHUAC
WOODBURY & CO.
CAMERON'S GRANT
AUSTIN AND WILLIAMS' GRANT
FELISOLA'S GRANT
BURNET'S GRANT
WHEELER

MAP OF
TEXAS
CONTAINING THE LATEST
GRANTS & DISCOVERIES
BY E. F. LEE
Published by J.A. James & Co.
CINCINNATI
1836
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100
Bexar
Gonzales
Victoria
Galiod or Bahia
Presidio de Rio Grande
San Fernando
Laredo
St. Patrick
Monclova
Revilla
Mier
Camargo
Matamoros
Refugio
Copano
Goliad
Montezuma
San Felipe de Austin
Harrisburg
Anahuac
Columbia
Brazoria
Velasco
Matagorda
Galveston
Corpus Christi Bay
Espiritu Santo Bay
Aransas Bay
Matagorda Bay
Galveston Bay
Brazos Santiago
Pt. Isabel
Pt. Bolivar
Rio Grande
Rio Bravo
Rio Colorado
Rio Brazos
Rio Nueces
Rio San Antonio
Rio Medina
Rio Trinity
Rio Neches
Rio Sabine
Rio Guadalupe
Rio Salado
Rio Sabinas
Rio San Juan
Rio Alamo
Rio Aransas
Rio Lavaca
Rio Navidad
Rio Caney
Rio Bernard
Rio Colorado
Rio Brazos

southwest of Austin's, with Victoria as its capital. Robertson's was above the San Antonio road, northwest of Austin's; while McMullen and McGloin's Irish colony, with St. Patrick (San Patricio) for its capital, extended from the ten league coast reserve along the Nueces and Frio toward the northwest. A more important enterprise was formed in New York. This organization was known as the Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company. Its object was to establish settlers in Texas. The Company did not receive recognition from the government until about 1834, but in 1834 and in 1835 it settled approximately five hundred families in eastern Texas with Nocogdoches as the center.

The result of the whole *empresario* movement was to bring in many settlers besides those who came to Austin's colony. In fact there were large numbers of families as well as individuals who came unattached to any particular grant or colony. No effective attempt was made to guard the eastern frontier against unauthorized settlers. It was possible for any one desiring to do so to cross the Sabine and feel perfectly sure that inconvenient questions would not be asked. Hundreds of thousands of unoccupied acres were open to any man who cared to construct his home on them, "and many a squatter built his hut and raised corn and chickens and hogs and children without any point of law upon his side except the nine points of possession."[24] Below the old San Antonio Road, including Austin's colony and the section east of the Sabine, the country filled up rapidly. An estimate made in 1827 placed the population of Texas, exclusive of Indians, at ten thousand. In 1830 the number had increased to probably twelve or fifteen thousand.

Character of Settlers.—The people were similar in character to the early population of any of the states

[24] Rives, *United States and Mexico*, I. 149.

in the Mississippi valley. Native Americans cam from all parts of the United States, but the majorit were from Kentucky and Tennessee. Ireland and Ger many had considerable representation also in Texas but the people from these countries soon fused with th native stock.

Some of the immigrants came by water while other journeyed overland. The former embarked at port along the Atlantic while the latter came from Natchi toches in Louisiana, crossing the Sabine generally a Gaines's Ferry or coming through southwestern Ar kansas. Either overland route brought them through long stretches of uninhabited country where it wa necessary to make camp every night. There was n wagon road of any kind until after 1822, but there i a recorded instance of a family traveling by wagon from Illinois to Austin's colony as early as 1824,[25] and Austin's sister accompanied her husband from Mis souri to San Felipe using wagons and a carriage a few years later. It did not take long to open well-marked routes into this great country of the Southwest.

An emigrant train.—A traveler who passed over one of these routes a few years before the outbreak of the Civil War has left a vivid picture of the slow-moving emigrant trains jolting along over root-projecting, rut-gouged roads.

"Before you come upon them you hear, ringing through the woods, the fierce cries and blows with which they urge on their jaded cattle. Then the stragglers appear, lean dogs or fainting negroes, ragged and spiritless," followed soon by the white covers of the wagons from the backs of which may be seen, as the traveler approaches, the faces of tired children, black and white, and "behind them further in, the old people and young mothers, whose turn it is to ride. . . . As

[25] Texas State Historical Association *Quarterly*, IV. 93.

you get by, the white mother and babies, and the tall, frequently ill-humored master, on horseback, or walking with his gun, urging up the black driver and his oxen. As a scout ahead, is a brother, or an intelligent slave, with the best gun, on the lookout for a deer or a turkey. . . . The masters are plainly dressed, often in homespun, keeping their eyes about them, noticing the soil, sometimes making a remark on the crops by the roadside; but, generally, dogged, surly, and silent. The women are silent, too, frequently walking to relieve the teams, and weary, haggard, mud bedraggled, forlorn, and disconsolate, yet hopeful and careful. The negroes, mud-incrusted, wrapped in old blankets or gunnybags, suffering from cold, plod on, aimless, hopeless, thoughtless, more indifferent than the ox to all about them." [26]

The slaves were coming into Texas in larger numbers when this description was written than they had formerly. In 1830 there were perhaps a thousand slaves out of a total population of twenty thousand, and for several years thereafter the number of slaves was relatively small. Many colonists had none, some had a few, and one man is said to have had a hundred.

Growing anxiety of Mexican officials.—Mexican officials watched the increase of Anglo-Americans in Texas with more or less anxiety. Although the United States had nominally surrendered all claims to Texas by the treaty of 1819, there were some leaders of public opinion there who apparently never quite gave up the idea of acquiring this part of the Southwest. Negotiations were attempted at various times, as pointed out in another chapter of this volume, with a view to securing the territory. Such efforts aroused the suspicion of Mexico. Austin was aware of Mexi-

[26] Olmstead, Frederick Law, *A Journey through Texas; or, a Saddle-Trip on the Southwestern Frontier, with a Statistical Appendix,* New York, 1857, 55-57.

can sensitiveness in this regard, and during the early years of the immigration movement he used his influence among the settlers to prevent misunderstandings and jealousies from marring the harmonious relations existing then between the American settler and the Mexican authorities. But as the number of settlers multiplied the difficulties of this task increased accordingly, until it became impossible.

The so-called Fredonian rebellion served to remind the Mexicans of the long-standing jealousy of their people toward the Americans of the northern republic, of their reasons for doubting the United States, and of the difficulties that were developing with the rapid growth of American settlers in Texas. A proper understanding of the movement which led to the Texas revolution of 1836 requires a brief account of the Fredonian uprising and the action taken by Mexico as a result.

Fredonian uprising. — In April, 1825, Hayden Edwards obtained permission to establish a colony in Eastern Texas. His concession included Nacogdoches. This grant was not obtained from the national government as was Austin's, but from the state of Coahuila and Texas; and the powers given Edwards were by no means as extensive as were those permitted Austin. The former was to respect the titles of original owners, to use the Spanish language in official documents and to study it in the schools when they should be established, to keep undesirable characters out of the territory, and to make proper arrangements for the exercise of the Catholic faith. After one hundred families had been introduced a commissioner was to be sent by the government who should put them in possession of the land. Edwards had no authority to pass on the claims of previous settlers, but he assumed this responsibility and soon found himself in trouble. Further opposition was stirred up by levying a small fee per acre, just as Austin had done.

For various reasons a sufficient opposing force was raised against him to gain the attention of officials, and a letter to the Governor which that official deemed discourteous resulted in Edward's grant being canceled. The political authorities gave as their reason for this action improper exactions of the *empresario* from the colonists.

Apparently Edwards had been tactless in many ways. In fact Austin had written him frankly that some of his acts were not based on any authority given him under his contract.[27] But his enemies were not entirely guiltless. Edwards believed that he had been unjustly deprived of what rightfully belonged to him and he determined to fight for his claims—or at least his brother Benjamin did for him, since Hayden was in the United States at the time.

On December 16, 1826, Edwards rode into Nacogdoches at the head of fifteen men and proclaimed an independent republic. He took possession of the old stone fort and organized a government under the name of Fredonia. Although treaties were concluded with the Indians and efforts were made to stir up a general uprising among the Anglo-Americans in Texas and to procure assistance from citizens of the United States, the whole affair met with little encouragement. In fact there was considerable opposition to it among the Anglo-American settlers in Texas, particularly in Austin's colony, so much so that a considerable force from the latter joined the Mexican troops that marched against the revolutionists, and the Fredonian uprising was soon stamped out.

Significance of the uprising.—Perhaps the principal significance of the Fredonian uprising was to be found

---

[27] See Austin's letter to Colonel Hayden Edwards in *A Comprehensive History of Texas,* I. 510-12. A number of other letters written by Austin, Edwards, and others, together with a brief account of the Fredonian war will be found in *ibid.,* 506-534. *See also* Garrison, *Texas,* Chapter XV.

in the determination of the American settlers, with Austin at their head, to put down disorder and sustain the Mexican government It was not their regard for Mexico which actuated them, but they were a property owning and consequently conservative class, and desired to avoid trouble. Furthermore they were not seeking independence, and apparently they did not then expect or desire annexation to the United States. To them, therefore, the uprising was doubtless of little consequence.

Law of April 6, 1830.—This, however, was not the attitude taken by the Mexican authorities. They considered the uprising a sign of the times and felt that it would occur again on a larger scale unless something was done to check the Anglo-American movement into Texas. The result was that Mexico inaugurated a policy, inconspicuously and indirectly, through which she hoped to substitute Mexican for Anglo-American occupation of Texas in the future. It will be remembered that article seven of the general colonization law of 1824 provided that the general congress was not to prohibit the entrance of individuals from other nations until after 1840, "unless imperious circumstances should compel it to do so with respect to the individuals of some particular nation." The Fredonian uprising was undoubtedly a factor in bringing Mexico to the conclusion that the "imperious circumstances" had arisen which compelled her to place restrictions on "the individuals of some particular nation." As a result, on April 6, 1830, Mexico passed a law forbidding, under any pretext whatever, the entrance of foreigners along her northern border unless they were provided with passports from Mexican agents. The act provided further that citizens from adjacent foreign countries should be forbidden to settle as colonists in the frontier states and territories of Mexico;

and that the colonization contracts that had not been fulfilled and which would conflict with the provisions of the law should be suspended. The settlement of Mexicans in Texas was encouraged by the act, but no attempt was to be made to interfere with the colonists already established.

Loose interpretation of the law.—The law was interpreted very loosely. Within three months after its promulgation fifty-four families landed at Lavaca on their way to De Witt's colony. The *alcalde* reported the arrival to his superior at Bexar, and suggested that it might be advisable to let them enter. This official reported the matter to the Governor, endorsing the *alcalde's* recommendation on the ground that the families had come under a legal contract and at great expense to themselves. The fact that the contract under which they came had been annulled should be overlooked in this instance. The Governor adopted this view and permitted colonists to settle temporarily while he consulted General Teran on the subject. It may have been as a result of this consultation that Teran wrote the vice-consul of Mexico at New Orleans to refuse passports to all North Americans except those *en route* for Austin's and De Witt's colonies.[28]

Its general effect.—Therefore the law of April 6, 1830, did not interfere with the actual admission of settlers into Austin's or De Witt's colonies. Indeed it did not apply to them. They were established colonies.[29] But the law undoubtedly interfered with the Anglo-American movement into Texas by revealing the attitude Mexico had begun to assume toward that move-

[28] Texas State Historical Association *Quarterly*, VIII. 140, 141. *See also ibid.*, 138-144.

[29] For some reason a colony was considered established when one hundred families were settled in it. Dr. Baker suggests that perhaps this was due to the clause in the colonization law, which provided that *empresarios* were to receive no premium land until they had settled at least one hundred families.

ment, and De Witt's colony suffered with the rest. In a report made to the government by the *ayuntamiento* of Gonzales with a view to securing a renewal of De Witt's contract, the claim was made that the law of April 6 had practically put a stop to all immigration to the colony, and that many who had come and had received certificates never received titles to the land because of the operation of the law.

Colonization law of April 28, 1832.—The Mexican authorities soon found a more practical way of keeping the people from the republic of the north out of Texas. The *empresario* contracts, according to the colonization law of Coahuila and Texas, were to be valid for a period of six years only from the day on which they were issued. These contracts, in some instances, were expiring, and the greater part of the land covered by them was still unoccupied. This land would revert to Mexico, and she could redistribute it without offense to the colonists already in Texas. A new colonization law was enacted therefore, April 28, 1832, offering special protection and aid to Mexicans who should occupy vacant lands in Texas, "and en- Mexicans, or with foreigners whose entrance was not couraging any *empresario* promising to colonize with prohibited by the law of April 6, 1830." [30] Steps were taken immediately to carry out the policy enacted by the laws of 1830 and 1832 by ordering all the *alcaldes* of the department of Bexar and all the military commanders of the coast and of the frontier to prevent immigrants from entering Texas, and by encouraging Mexican colonization of Texas lands.

Growing friction between Americans and Mexicans.—Among both the Anglo-Americans in Texas and the Mexican officials relations were becoming increasingly strained as time passed. The persistent efforts of the United States to acquire Texas and what

[30] *Ibid.*, 141.

was believed by Mexican authorities to be a secret understanding between the colonists and the Indians, which made the former comparatively immune from Indian attacks, together with the Fredonian uprising, were incidents which played with growing irritation upon the official sensitiveness of Mexican rulers. To the Americans, on the other hand, it had become evident that Mexico had determined upon a policy of restriction and control utterly at variance to that under which they had been invited to enter Texas. The laws of 1830 and 1832, the military occupation of Texas under Teran for the purpose of enforcing these laws, the closing of certain Texas ports, and the attempt at the strict collection of duties gave ample proof of this policy. These were some of the things which were driving the two opposing factions to an inevitable conflict.

The American uprising of 1832.—By the summer of 1832 further self-restraint among the less conservative colonists became impossible. Vessels, loaded with goods and with armed men on board and others on shore to coöperate, began to pass in and out of the mouth of the Brazos River in open defiance of the customs officials. In May, 1832, John Davis Bradburn, a tyrannical Kentuckian whom Teran left in command of Anahuac at the head of Galveston Bay, put under martial law the ten league strip along the coast, which had been originally reserved from colonization, and a little later arrested William B. Travis and other prominent men of the colony and placed them in close confinement for alleged insubordination. The colonists rose and under the command of Frank W. Johnson marched against Anahuac. The leader of the American contingent from Brazoria, John Austin, was sent back home to get some cannon which were there and transport them by water to Anahuac. These were to

be used in capturing Bradburn's fort. The Mexican officer who had command at Velasco at the mouth of the Brazos refused to let the schooner which carried the guns pass out. It therefore became necessary to attack the post. The assault was conducted both from the river and by land. After determined resistance by about one hundred and twenty-five Mexicans, Velasco was captured by approximately one hundred Americans on June 27. Meanwhile the Mexican officials had been persuaded to remove Bradburn and to release Travis and his companions. This ended the trouble in that section temporarily.[31]

Participants in uprising side with Santa Anna in civil war.—Of course this rising against Bradburn would have to be explained to the Mexican authorities. American ingenuity was equal to the occasion. In the preceding January Santa Anna had begun a struggle against the tyrannical government headed by Bustamante, and was proclaiming himself the special champion of the constitution and laws of Mexico. The Americans probably desired the overthrow of Bustamante any way, and the circumstances rendered this support of Santa Anna easy. As a result, while they were at Turtle Bayou near Anahuac, in the midst of operations against the latter place, they expressed their attitude in the Turtle Bayou resolutions. In these they declared their approval of "the firm and manly resistance which is made by the highly talented and distinguished chieftain General Santa Anna" and pledged their "lives and fortunes in the support . . . of the distinguished leader who is now so gallantly fighting in defense of civil liberty." [32] When the Mexi-

[31] Garrison, *Texas*, 176, 177; Rives, *United States and Mexico*, I. 201-204.

[32] "The Disturbances at Anahuac," in the Texas State Historical Association *Quarterly*, XIV, 287. See also *Ibid.*, XIV, 44; Rives, *United States and Mexico*, I. 210.

can troops appeared to investigate the action of the Americans, the latter presented these resolutions to the leader who belonged to the Santa Anna party. These seemed to free the revolutionists from any charge of disloyalty in so far as Santa Anna was concerned. But the Americans did not stop here. In order that there might be a more complete understanding of this attitude a gathering of the *ayuntamientos* of the colony passed a series of resolutions in favor of Santa Anna, and insisted upon the preservation of the constitution and the rights of the states. In December, 1832, Bustamante abdicated and Santa Anna came into temporary control of the government.

Call and work of Convention of 1832.—On August 22, 1832, as a result of the general unsettled conditions, a convention of the people of Texas was called by the first and second *alcaldes* of the San Felipe district, and met at San Felipe on October 1. About fifty-six delegates assembled representing practically all the English-speaking districts except Goliad. Representatives from the latter place arrived after the convention had adjourned, and gave their unreserved approval to all that had been done.

Many subjects were discussed and an agreement was reached on several of them. It was determined to petition for the free introduction for three years of such articles as provisions, machinery, tools, cotton bagging, clothing, shoes and hats, powder, lead, and shot, household furniture, medicines, and books. The members of the convention disclaimed any desire for independence from Mexico in most positive terms, but earnestly petitioned for the repeal of the law of April 6, 1830, preventing Americans from entering Texas. They asked for separate statehood, for a land grant for educational purposes, for a recognition of land titles between the San Jacinto and the Sabine, and for

the establishment of new *ayuntamientos* in that section. Provision was made for the management of custom-houses which had been closed by the withdrawal of troops from Texas, until the general government could again take charge of them, but the convention was opposed to interfering with the schedule of duties. Finally the convention appointed a central committee whose duty it was to correspond with subordinate local committees for the purpose of keeping in touch with the colonial interests in general, fostering closer union among the colonists, and warning them of approaching danger. The committee was also empowered to call another general convention.[33]

Convention of 1833.—This it did very soon. The election for the new convention was held March 1, 1833, and the delegates met at San Felipe again on April 1, the day on which Santa Anna and Gomez Farias were inaugurated as President and Vice-President of Mexico. The convention was in session for thirteen days. During this period it adopted a tentative constitution for the proposed new state, a resolution condemning the African slave trade, and an address to the Mexican Congress. The last was a respectfully phrased document, clear and straightforward in tone, presenting the earnest desire of the people of Texas to be separated from Coahuila and formed into an independent state.[34]

Work of Convention rejected by Mexico.—Austin was chosen to submit the petition to the authorities in Mexico, but his mission was to be a failure. There were at least two reasons why the petition would be rejected. In the first place the federal constitution adopted October 4, 1824, five months later than the law

[33] Gammel, *Laws of Texas,* I. 477-503; Brown, John H., *History of Texas, from 1685 to 1892,* 2 vols., St. Louis, 1893, I. 197-213.

[34] The constitution is in Edward, *History of Texas,* 196-205, and the "Texan Memorial" is in Yoakum, *History of Texas,* I. 469-482.

which united Coahuila and Texas, provided that a new state could be formed out of part of an existing one only by the approval of three-fourths of the vote of each house of Congress, ratified by three-fourths of the state legislature. In the second place the federal authorities of the new régime were not disposed to modify the legislation of the Bustamante government in regard to Texas. The tariff and slavery laws were retained, and no assurance was given in regard to continued freedom from military control. No consideration whatever was given to the idea of separate statehood. The points of view of the people of Texas and of Mexico were entirely different. The proposal of a separate state for Texas seemed most desirable to the people of that frontier community, but to the authorities in the capital this was not the case. It was not clear to them that Mexico would be benefited by erecting a strongly organized state inhabited almost entirely by vigorous foreigners who spoke a different language and who, by their traditions, were hostile to ideals and aspirations of the Mexican people. Therefore the Mexican officials concluded that the time had not come for organizing a separate state in Texas. However, they promised to recommend to the legislature of Coahuila and Texas the passage of several laws for the relief of the colonists. Austin was successful in only one respect. He was able to persuade Congress to repeal the provisions of the law of April 6, 1830, which forbade emigrants from the United States to enter Texas. With this concession Austin left Mexico on December 10, 1833.[35]

He had gone as far as Saltillo on his journey home when orders for his arrest came from the federal authorities, and he was brought back to Mexico and

[35] Rives, *United States and Mexico*, I. 216-25. Cf. Garrison, *Texas*, Chapter XVI.

imprisoned. The principal reason for his arrest seems to have been an injudicious letter which he admitted he had written to the people of Bexar advising them to form a state government without waiting for Congress to act. Whatever the charges may have been, they were never pressed, and Austin was released after eight months' imprisonment. On one pretext or another he was detained in Mexico several months longer, at last arriving in Texas by way of New Orleans, September 1, 1835.

War party gains strength.—In the meantime Texas was drifting rapidly toward war with Mexico. While some changes for the better had been made, such as the establishment of new municipalities, increasing the representation allotted Texas in the state legislature, and granting permission to use English in transacting public business, these concessions made to the inhabitants of Texas were not enough to remove either the cause of complaint or the prevalent distrust of the intentions of the Mexican government. By 1835 excitement in Texas was running high. In spite of the efforts of a large majority of the Texans to prevent any hostile demonstrations, the war party developed under vigorous and determined leaders and became increasingly difficult to restrain. The feeling grew tense. Under these circumstances some show of violence was to be expected, and it soon came.

Mexican troops expelled from Anahuac.—In January, 1835, the Mexican officials had attempted to resume the collection of duties in Texas. In order to facilitate the work Captain Antonio Tenario, with a few troops, was sent to support the collector at Anahuac. He had experienced some difficulties in discharging the duties of his office when reports came of Santa Anna's usurpation in Coahuila. The people in the department of the Brazos determined to have a

general meeting at San Felipe to consider the depressing conditions. On the day before the meeting some one stopped a government courier who was leaving a conciliatory circular from General Cos to the people of Texas. No objection could be offered to this of course. But the same messenger, it was discovered, also carried private letters addressed to the commanding officer at Anahuac, one from General Cos and another from Colonel Ugartechea, pledging, at an early date, sufficient reënforcements to enable him to regulate matters in that section. The content of these letters produced great excitement among the people gathered at San Felipe, but the conservative party was in the majority and decided to do nothing. The minority determined that some action should be taken. They held a secret meeting at which resolutions were passed "recommending that, in connection with the general defense of the country against military sway, the troops of Anahuac should be disarmed and ordered to leave Texas." [36] William B. Travis was instructed to collect a force for the purpose of putting this recommendation into effect. With about thirty men from San Felipe and Harrisburg, Travis sailed across Galveston Bay on June 29, 1835. Captain Tenario evacuated the fort without waiting for an attack, and on the following morning he surrendered with his forty men. The Mexicans agreed to leave the country at once and not to serve against the people of Texas again. Travis and his party returned across the bay and reached Harrisburg in time to participate in a Fourth of July celebration.[37] The action taken by Travis was generally condemned, but events followed one another so

[36] Travis to Henry Smith, July 6, 1835, in Texas State Historical Association *Quarterly*, II. 24.

[37] For an interesting description of this event, written by one who was present, *see* the "Reminiscences" of Mrs. Harris in Texas State Historical Association *Quarterly*, IV. 125.

rapidly during the next few weeks that the aggressiveness of the incident was soon forgotten.

Fight between the San Felipe and the Correo.—Rumors fairly jostled one another in the minds of the people during this period. It was said that Mexican troops were being sent against the Texans, and that other evil designs were being formulated. Mexican liberals who sought refuge in the country helped to increase the agitation. Numerous meetings of the colonists were held throughout Anglo-American Texas, and the discussion which took place was ill-tempered and unrestrained.[38] In the early fall another act of violence occurred which served to bring matters to an issue. The American schooner *San Felipe*, inward bound from New Orleans, fell in with the Mexican *Correo* off the mouth of the Brazos River. The fight which followed lasted for three-quarters of an hour, and the *Correo* drew off. The American vessel then entered the river and landed her passengers, among whom was Stephen F. Austin.

Effect on Austin.—Austin was returning home after an absence of more than two years. He had left Mexico full of hope, and he carried with him messages from Santa Anna and other influential men in that country all of whom expressed warm friendship for Texas. He had "fully hoped to have found Texas at peace and in tranquillity," but found it in" commotion—all disorganized, all in anarchy, and threatened with immediate hostilities. This state of things is deeply to be lamented." [39] The sea fight had made a profound impression on him. It has been said by some of his contemporaries that he "walked the beach all night, his mind oppressed with the gravity of the situation, forecasting the troubles ahead to Texas." [40] He went to the

[38] Garrison, *Texas*, 188.
[39] Yoakum, *History of Texas*, I. 357.
[40] *Comprehensive History of Texas*, I. 500.

home of his brother-in-law, James F. Perry, about ten miles above the mouth of the Brazos, where a deputation of citizens called and invited him to a banquet to be given in his honor at Brazoria. The object seems to have been to have as many as possible assemble for the purpose of hearing Austin's views on existing conditions, and to have his advice. Public sentiment had reached the point where it would probably have been impossible for him to restrain the people much longer, while a word of encouragement was sure to produce war. In the address delivered on September 8 in which be spoke for an hour before more than a thousand people, he set forth his views, and concluded with the following words:

Austin's Address September 8, 1835.—The crisis is such as to bring it home to the judgment of every man that something must be done, and that without delay. The question will perhaps be asked, What are we to do? I have already indicated my opinion. Let all personalities or divisions or excitements, or passions, or violence be banished from among us. Let a general consultation of the people of Texas be convened as speedily as possible to be composed of the best, the most calm, and intelligent, and firm men in the country, and let them decide what representation ought to be made to the general government, and what ought to be done in the future.

With these explanatory remarks I will give a toast, "The constitutional rights and security and peace of Texas—they ought to be maintained; and jeopardized, as they now are, they demand a general consultation of the people." [41]

The people hesitated no longer. The peace party—of which Austin himself had formerly been a member—was completely demoralized. A few days later Austin was placed on the committee of vigilance and

[41] Part of the address is given in *Comprehensive History of Texas,* I. 501-505.

safety at San Felipe, and became in a way the director of the revolutionary movement. This position he continued to hold until, at his own suggestion, a central committee was formed composed of one member from each of the local committees of public safety. The appointment of this council released Austin so that he could offer his services to the army.

Outbreak of the revolution.—The consultation which Austin recommended had been proposed already for October 15 by the municipality of Columbia. Before that date hostilities had begun. The people of Gonzales had a cannon which had been given them four years earlier as a defense against the Indians. The commander of the Mexican troops at Bexar, Colonel Ugartechea, demanded that it be surrendered. The demand was refused and an attempt to take it resulted in a conflict in which the Americans were victorious. This was October 2, 1835. On the following day the federal authorities issued a decree abolishing state legislatures in Mexico and substituting therefor a department council. All state officers were made responsible to the central authorities in Mexico City.

Principles involved.—When news of what had been done reached Texas it created no surprise. Austin had said in his address on September 8 that Mexico intended to destroy the federal constitution of 1824 and establish a consolidated government by converting the states into provinces. Knowledge of what had been done simply strengthened the determination of the people to repel further aggressions. At this time the struggle was for the "constitutional principles on which the Mexican Federal Republic had been organized; and when this failed because of the complete triumph of Santa Anna in the Mexican states up to the Rio Grande, it became necessarily a struggle for independence." [42]

[42] Garrison, *Texas*, 189.

The growth toward independence was gradual. It will be remembered that a central council had been formed as a temporary head of the government. This body was directing affairs of state at the time when the consultation assembled on October 16. When the consultation adjourned on the following day to meet again November 1, members of that body recognized the *de facto* government by continuing the council. When the consultation came together again on the day appointed, the general council surrendered its authority. A committee of twelve was appointed, with John A. Wharton as chairman, to prepare a declaration of the causes which had compelled the Texans to take up arms; and a similar body headed by Henry Millard "to draw up and submit a plan or system of provisional government." [43]

There was considerable discussion over the form of declaration. Even at this time there were some who were in favor of declaring independence from Mexico. The conservatives won the day, and the declaration was for adherence to the federal constitution of 1824. The ordinance providing a provisional government, completed on November 13, was "the earliest specimen of Anglo-Saxon law ever enforced in Texas." [44] It provided for a governor, a lieutenant-governor, a council which was to be composed of one member from each municipality represented in the consultation, a judiciary, and a commander in chief. With its work completed, the consultation adjourned to meet at Washington March 1, 1836.

Declaration of Independence.—On the appointed day the consultation or convention met in the little town on the banks of the Brazos. It was a time that tried men's souls. Travis and his brave companions

[43] Quoted in Yoakum, *History of Texas*, II. 12.
[44] *Ibid.*, 13.

had dedicated themselves to a heroic destiny,[45] and even Santa Anna's followers were establishing more completely the conditions which meant death to the men of Alamo. But the members of this convention did not hesitate. The citizens of Texas had been thrown upon their own resources and upon the help of their friends in the United States. Even the most hesitating conservatives began to consider a declaration of independence as the only alternative. Austin, "whose moral stature and want of fitness for revolutionary leadership were made equally conspicuous by the crisis," had already declared himself in favor of such action.[46]

Constitution adopted for Republic of Texas.—As a result of this unmistakable sentiment, immediately following the organization on March 1, a committee was appointed to draft a declaration of independence. The committee reported on the next day and the report was accepted unanimously. In the notable words of the more famous declaration of 1776, the convention ended forever the political connection between Texas and Mexico. Two days later Sam Houston was appointed commander in chief of the army. On March 16 a constitution drawn largely from the Constitution of the United States and constitutions of some of the southwestern states was submitted by its committee to the convention. There were to be a president, a vice-president, a senate and a house of representatives, a supreme court, and such inferior courts as might be established by congress. The English common law, a bill of rights, and permission for slavery were adopted. Arrangements were made for a provisional government to control affairs in the state until such time as the work of the convention could be approved by the

[45] See William B. Travis's letter, "To the People of Texas and all Americans in the world," quoted in Garrison, *Texas*, 207.

[46] *Ibid.*, 211.

people and officers elected to assume the responsibilities provided by the constitution. On March 17 the convention adjourned.

Defeat of Santa Anna.—A month and four days later, April 21, 1836, the battle of San Jacinto was fought, in which Santa Anna was completely defeated and captured. Two months later he secured his release by signing treaties according to which he and the other Mexican generals in Texas agreed to withdraw all their troops and to endeavor to secure the independence of the country with boundaries no farther south than the Rio Grande. The agreement reached at this time proved to be the actual achievement of Texan independence. To be sure the Mexican Congress repudiated it and fully intended to reconquer the country, but she was too much disturbed by internal struggles to carry out her plans.

Growth in population.—In the meantime Texas was growing in population and wealth. In spite of the restrictions placed by the law of April 6, 1830, Mexico soon gave up her efforts to guard the frontier and even during the three and a half years that the law was in force immigrants came in large numbers. But the mere existence of the law regardless of its enforcement discouraged the best class of settlers from coming into the country. The peaceable and industrious—and there were many such who kept abreast of the westward moving frontier—would hesitate to take their families into Texas in violation of the law. "On the other hand the door was left wide open to 'adventurers, malefactors, and the dregs of the people' who had nothing to lose. The result, therefore, of passing this law and not enforcing it effectually was, as is usually the case when prohibitive laws are unsupported by an honest and efficient police, that conditions were aggravated; for while immigration from the United States was not checked, the conservative element was replaced by the

adventurous." [47] The immigration which came as a result of the strained relations and final war with Mexico resulted in introducing many desirable citizens from the United States. The Anglo-American population in 1836 has been estimated at about thirty thousand. By 1850 this number had increased to two hundred and twelve thousand.

Growth in wealth.—The increase in wealth came with the increase in population. Farmers extended the area of their land under cultivation, improved the character and type of their buildings, increased the number of their live stock and of their slaves. The cotton exported from Austin's colony alone in 1833 amounted to nearly two million pounds, and there were in operation thirty cotton gins, several water mills, and two sawmills. As long as goods could be imported from New Orleans free of duty there was no real need for manufactures. There were well-stocked stores of merchandise at San Felipe and at Brazoria in which the clothing and necessaries of life were so attractively priced that Mexicans came from as far as Monclova to do their trading. This prosperity extended to all the settlements as far as Nacogdoches.

Bibliographical Notes

Stephen F. Austin and the Colonization of Texas: Material on Austin and on the American occupation of Texas may be found in the following: Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas,* 2 vols., San Francisco, 1883-1889, II; John Henry Brown, *History of Texas from 1685 to 1892,* 2 vols., St. Louis, 1892-1893, I; Henry Stuart Foote, *Texas and the Texans; or, Advance of the Anglo-Americans to the Southwest; Including a History of Leading Events in Mexico, from the Conquest by Fernando Cortes to the Termination of the Texan Revolution,* 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1841, I; H. P. N. Gammel, *Laws of Texas,* (Vol. I, 1898), Austin; William Kennedy, *Texas: The Rise, Progress, and Prospects of the Republic of Texas,* 2 vols., London, 1841, I; N. Doran Maillard, *The History of the Republic of Texas from*

[47] Rives, *United States and Mexico,* I. 232.

the Discovery of the Country to the Present Time; and the Causes of their Separation from the Republic of Mexico, London, 1842; Joseph M. White, *A New Collection of Laws, Charters, and Local Ordinances of the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Spain, Relating to the Concessions of Land in their Respective Colonies; together with the Laws of Mexico and Texas on the Same Subject to which is Prefixed Judge Johnson's Translation of Azo and Manuel's Institutes of the Civil Laws of Spain,* 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1839, I, 559-586; Dudley G. Wooten (editor), *A Comprehensive History of Texas,* 2 vols., Dallas, 1898, reprints the greater part of Yoakum; H. Yoakum, *History of Texas, from its First Settlement in 1685, to its Annexation to the United States in 1846,* 2 vols., New York, 1856.

More recent accounts may be found in Katharine Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West: How We Won the Land beyond the Mississippi,* 2 vols., New York, 1912, II, Part III, chapter 4; George P. Garrison, *Texas: a Contest of Civilizations* (American Commonwealth Series, Boston, 1903; J. B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War,* 8 vols., New York, 1883-1913; and George L. Rives, *The United States and Mexico, 1821-1848,* 2 vols., New York, 1913. The Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly,* and its successor, the Southwestern Historical *Quarterly,* contain numerous valuable articles on Austin and the American colonization of Texas. (Austin, 1897– .)

The Independence of Texas is treated in most of the above works and in the following: Henry Bruce, *Life of General Houston* (Makers of America Series), New York, 1891; W. C. Crane, *Life and Select Literary Remains of Sam Houston and the War of Independence in Texas,* Boston, 1893; Thomas J. Green, *Journal of the Texan Expedition against Mier; Subsequent Imprisonment of the author; his Sufferings and final Escape from the Castle of Perote, with Reflections upon the Present Political and Probable Future Relations of Texas, Mexico, and the United States,* New York, 1845.

For additional material see the bibliographies cited in the various works above, particularly in Bancroft, Coman, and Rives; Channing, Hart, and Turner, *Guide;* J. N. Larned, *Literature of American History; a Bibliographical Guide;* and C. W. Raines, *A Bibliography of Texas: Being a Descriptive List of Books, Pamphlets, and Documents Relating to Texas in Print and Manuscript since 1536, Including a Complete Collection of the Laws; with an Introductory Essay on the Materials of Early Texas History,* Austin, 1896.

CHAPTER VI

EARLY CLAIMS TO OREGON

Five different nations have laid claims to the territory included in the Pacific Northwest. These are France, Spain, Russia, England, and the United States. The claims made by the first three may be dismissed briefly, while those made by the last two require a somewhat more extended examination.

Claims of nations to Oregon country.—Such vague and shadowy pretensions as France professed were based on the voyages made by her seamen into that region during the period from 1763 to 1779, and on her possession of the Louisiana territory prior to the former date and after 1800. These claims were surrendered to the United States with Louisiana in 1803. Spain's claims were also based on explorations made by her seamen, but they too were unsatisfactory. Such as they were, however, they came into the hands of the American nation by the terms of the Florida treaty of 1819. Russia rested her contentions on the work of her daring seaman, Vitus Bering, and on the operation of Russian fur merchants who, in 1799, came together to form the Russian-American Fur Company. The charter granted to this company gave it the entire use and control of the Pacific coast of North America from Bering Strait to the fifty-fifth parallel, and it was also authorized to explore any additional territory which was not already under the control of some other nation. Under this provision the company pushed its way into remote regions and by the end of twenty years it claimed the northwest coast from Bering Strait southward beyond the mouth of the Columbia River. By 1816 the Russians had begun to extend their settlements as far southward as California.

Negotiations between United States and Russia.—This incident aroused the interest of the United States and that interest was intensified by an edict published at the command of the Emperor Alexander in 1821. In this document the Russian Czar declared that the pursuits of commerce, fishing, etc., along the whole west coast of America, north of the fifty-first parallel were reserved exclusively for the Russians and foreigners were forbidden, under heavy penalty, from approaching within a hundred miles of the coast, except when extreme necessity required them to do so. In February, 1822, the decree was forwarded to the United States through the Russian minister at Washington, Chevalier de Poletica. This brought a note of surprise from Adams, the American Secretary of State, who demanded to know on what grounds Russia claimed so much territory on the west coast of North America. The Russian minister replied that the claims were based on explorations made by the Czar's subjects. He declared that these claims extended south to the forty-ninth parallel. The reason for selecting the fifty-first degree of latitude as the southern limits of Russian possessions was the assumption that this line was midway between the mouth of the Columbia, where the United States citizens had established themselves, and the Russian settlement of Sitka. Adams maintained in his reply that citizens of the United States had navigated those seas "from the period of the existence of the United States as an independent nation . . . and the right to navigate them was part of that independence, as also the right of their citizens to trade, even in arms and munitions of war, with the aboriginal natives of the northwest coast of America, who were not under the territorial jurisdiction of other nations."[1] In the charter of the Russian-Amer-

[1] Greenhow, Robert, *History of Oregon and California,* New York, 1845, 332-335. The *ukase* and the correspondence between the Russian

ican Fur Company, Adams continued, the fifty-fifth parallel had been indicated as the southern boundary of Russian claims. This had been recognized as the southern limit of Russian explorations in 1799. Since that time they had made no discoveries south of that line on the coast claimed by them. Adams therefore denied all Russian claims to territory south of the fifty-fifth parallel. Further correspondence on the subject failed to convince either party.

England, Russia, the United States, and the Monroe Doctrine.—The correspondence, together with the decree of the Russian emperor, was placed before the Congress of the United States, and in the following year (1823) the officials in Washington began negotiations directly with St. Petersburg for the purpose of settling all disputed questions regarding the Pacific Northwest. At the same time similar negotiations were under way at St. Petersburg between the governments of Russia and England. The latter also had protested against the claims and principles advanced in the *ukase* of 1821. These circumstances led the United States to feel that a joint convention of the three nations should be concluded as soon as possible. Accordingly the United States representatives in London and in St. Petersburg were directed to propose that during the next ten years the following plan of settlement be accepted by the three governments: the Russians to agree to make no settlements south of the fifty-fifth parallel; the British to confine their settlements to the territory lying between the fifty-first and the fifty-fifth degrees of latitude; while the United States would agree to keep her citizens south of the fifty-first parallel.

Both England and Russia declined to accept the proposal made by the United States. This was due to the

---

and American governments regarding it may be found among the papers accompanying Monroe's message to Congress, April 17, 1822.

action taken by President Monroe.[2] In his message to Congress in December, 1823, he referred to the negotiations that had been conducted in regard to the northwest coast, and declared that "the occasion had been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered subjects for colonization by any European power." England and Russia protested against this attitude expressed by the United States. The latter was not so persistent in her objections as the former, and with her the United States concluded a treaty compromise more quickly.

Treaty with Russia.—The treaty with Russia was signed at St. Petersburg on April 5, 1824. According to this document the two countries mutually agreed that their citizens should be free to navigate and fish in any part of the Pacific Ocean or to trade with the natives in those parts not occupied by citizens of the respective countries. The United States further agreed that it would not permit its citizens to establish settlements north of latitude fifty-four degrees and forty minutes, and the Russians promised to confine their colonizing activities to the north of that line, but it was understood "that during a term of ten years, counting from the signature of the present convention, the ships of both powers, or which belong to their citizens or subjects respectively, may reciprocally frequent, without any hindrance whatever, the interior seas, gulfs, harbors, and creeks" of the coast north or south of the above parallel.

Summary of conditions in 1824.—The situation in 1824, then, may be summarized briefly as follows: Whatever claim France may have had to the Pacific Northwest was surrendered to the United States by the treaty of 1803. By the terms of the Florida pur-

[2] *Ibid.*, 336.

chase and the settlement of Louisiana's western boundary, Spain transferred to the American nation her claims to the Pacific territory north of its forty-second parallel. And according to the terms of the treaty of April 5, 1824, Russia surrendered to the United States her claims to the territory south of latitude fifty-four degrees and forty minutes. It remains therefore to trace the negotiations between the United States and England. In the present chapter these will be carried to 1828, leaving the diplomatic negotiations which resulted in a final division of the territory for consideration in another chapter. To do this it will be necessary to point out briefly the basis for the claims of the respective nations to the Oregon country.

Early English voyages in the Northwest.—During the period from 1577 to 1580 Sir Francis Drake made his famous voyage into the Pacific in search of Spanish treasure. Coming in by way of the Strait of Magellan he followed the Pacific coast northward, probably as far as the forty-third parallel of latitude. While landed at "a fair and good bay, within thirty-eight degrees" north latitude, he took possession of the country in the name of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, calling the region New Albion. In 1776 the Parliament of Great Britain offered a reward of twenty thousand pounds to any English officer who should discover between the Atlantic and the Pacific a sea passage north of the fifty-second parallel.[3] Captain James Cook had just returned to England from his second voyage of navigation and was induced by the English government to undertake the search for the coveted passage. He made his way into the Pacific and up the western coast of the Americas, at last dropping anchor in a large bay in latitude forty-nine degrees, thirty-three minutes north. At first he felt sure

[3] McElroy, Robert McNutt, *Winning of the Far West,* New York, 1914, 108, 109.

that the country had already been visited by Europeans, but more careful study convinced him that this was not true. He named the inlet King George's Sound in honor of his sovereign, but later discovered that it was called Nootka by the natives, a name which has persisted. It was also discovered, years later, that his first impression regarding the probable visit of Europeans to the Nootka Sound region was correct. A Spanish expedition under the command of Perez had visited the country in 1774 and had claimed the country for the Spanish king. Heceta and Cuadra had also visited the coast of that region in 1775, and had taken possession of the country in the name of Spain.[4]

No further expeditions were made by any civilized nations, according to Greenhow,[5] between Nootka Sound and Cape Mendocino during the years 1778 to 1787. In 1788, however, we find another Englishman, John Meares, casting anchor in Nootka Sound. From his headquarters established here he sent vessels to explore along the coast as far north as the sixtieth parallel and south to the forty-fifth. He had attempted to enter the mouth of the Columbia River, but only convinced himself that it could not be done. The names of Cape Disappointment and Deception Bay were applied to the promontory and to the bay as mementoes of his failure.[6] The expedition led by Meares derives its importance primarily from the seizure of his vessels by Martinez, the commander of Spanish vessels commissioned to explore the northwest coast in 1789, and from the Nootka Sound Convention of the following year.

---

[4] Bancroft, *Northwest Coast,* I. 150-166 and *History of California,* I. 241 ff.

[5] *Oregon and California,* 167.

[6] Meares, John, *Voyages made in the Years 1788 and 1789 from China to the N. W. Coast of America,* I. 269, 270. *See also* Manning, "The Nootka Sound Controversy" in the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1904, 283-471.

The Nootka Convention and its interpretation by England.—The Nootka Sound Convention was the first international treaty pertaining to the northwest coast of America. It provided among other things that subjects of both England and Spain should be free to navigate and fish in the Pacific, to land and trade with the natives, and to make settlements in all unoccupied districts. Even where the subjects of either power had made settlements, if such settlements had been made since April, 1789, the subjects of the other should be permitted free access for the purpose of carrying on trade. Later, in 1826, England used the terms of the Nootka Convention as an argument against any claims the United States might have to Oregon as a result of the Spanish treaty of 1819. In other words England interpreted the agreement made with Spain in 1790 to mean that thereby both nations surrendered their rights to claim territory in the Pacific Northwest, unless there was something more tangible on which to base those claims than "vague narratives of discoveries." [7] If this view of the Nootka Convention had been generally understood in 1790, it would have been conceded readily that any claims which England or Spain made to the Pacific Northwest on the basis of the voyages of their respective seamen must be based on explorations made after that year.

England's interpretation of the Nootka Convention, therefore [one writer concludes] greatly strengthened the position of America, leaving the two nations exactly equal in so far as America had received the region from Spain by the Florida Purchase, but leaving America free to advance her claims derived from other sources, a resource which England had definitely abrogated for herself.[8]

Vancouver's explorations in the Northwest.—But this interpretation of the Nootka Convention, it must

[7] *American State Papers, Foreign Relations,* VI. 663.
[8] McElroy, *Winning of the Far West,* 113.

be remembered, was not made by England until 1826. Prior to that year the interest of both the United States and England in the Pacific Northwest had grown, and each believed its claim to the country north of the forty-second parallel and south of the fifty-four degrees, forty minutes north latitude, had been strengthened. The most important English expedition to find its way by sea into the Pacific Northwest was led by Captain George Vancouver in 1792. He came to negotiate with Spanish representatives at Nootka for the purpose of determining what lands and buildings were to be restored to the British claimants under the first and second articles of the convention of 1790, or what indemnity Spain might justly expect from England. He was also instructed to examine and survey the Pacific coast from the thirtieth to the sixtieth parallels of north latitude. The number and extent of settlements made by civilized nations were to be carefully noted by him, and especially was he to secure all the information possible pertaining to any water passage which might connect the Pacific on the west shores of America with the Atlantic on the east. With a view to carrying out this particular point he was to make a careful examination of the supposed Strait of Juan de Fuca which was "said to be situated between the forty-eighth and forty-ninth degrees of north latitude, and to lead to an opening through which the sloop *Washington* is reported to have passed in 1789, and to have come out again to the northward of Nootka." [9]

With these instructions Vancouver left England in January, 1791, and the spring of the following year found him exploring the northwest coast. His journal for April 27, 1792, contains the following:

---

[9] These instructions will be found in the Introduction of Vancouver, George, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World*, etc., 3 vols., London, 1798, I. 18-21.

Noon brought us up with a very conspicuous point of land, composed of a cluster of hummocks, moderately high, and projecting into the sea from the low land before mentioned. . . . On the south side of this promontory was the appearance of an inlet, or small river, the land behind not indicating it to be of any great extent; nor did it seem to be accessible for vessels of our burthen, as the breakers extended from the above point, two or three miles into the ocean, until they joined those on the beach nearly four leagues further south. On reference to Mr. Meares's description of the coast south of this promontory, I was at first induced to believe it to be Cape Shoalwater, but on ascertaining its latitude, I presumed it to be that which he calls Cape Disappointment; and the opening south of it, Deception Bay. This cape we found to be in latitude forty-six degrees nineteen minutes, longitude two hundred thirty-six degrees six minutes.

The sea had now changed from its natural to river-colored water; the probable consequence of some streams falling into the bay, or into the opening to the north of it, through the low land. Not considering this opening worthy of more attention, I continued our pursuit to the northwest, being desirous to embrace the advantages of the now prevailing breeze and pleasant weather, so favorable to an examination of the coast, . . .[10]

Vancouver meets Gray. Comments on entrance to Columbia.—Two days later, while taking advantage of the "prevailing breeze and pleasant weather" in prosecuting his explorations northward, Vancouver sighted a vessel toward the west, which "was a very great novelty, not having seen any vessel but our consort during the last eight months." It proved to be the American ship *Columbia* commanded by Captain Robert Gray, which had sailed from Boston about nineteen months earlier. Vancouver found, as he had anticipated he would, that Gray had been in command of

[10] *Ibid.*, 209, 210.

the sloop *Washington* at the time, "we are informed, she had made a very singular voyage behind Nootka." But Gray's account of his explorations in Nootka Sound differed widely from the accounts published in England. "It is not possible," Vancouver says, "to conceive any one to be more astonished than was Mr. Gray, on his being made acquainted that his authority had been quoted, and the track pointed out that he had been said to have made in the sloop *Washington*. In contradiction to which, he assured the officers, that he had penetrated only fifty miles into the straits in question, in an east-southeast direction; that he found the passage five leagues wide, and that he understood from the natives, that the opening extended a considerable distance to the northward; that this was all the information he acquired concerning this inland sea, and that he returned into the ocean by the same way he had entered at." Gray also told Vancouver that he had been off the mouth of a river where he waited for nine days to enter it but the current was too strong. It was located in latitude forty-six degrees, ten minutes. And continuing Vancouver explains that this "was, probably, the opening passed by us on the forenoon of the twenty-seventh; and was, apparently, inaccessible, not from the current, but from the breakers that extended across it." If any inlet existed there it was "inaccessible to vessels of our burden, owing to the reefs and broken water, which then appeared in its neighborhood." [11]

Although Vancouver was surprised at sighting the American vessel, she was by no means a stranger to the Pacific Northwest. In fact this was her second voyage into these waters, and other vessels had preceded her.

---

[11] *Ibid.*, 214, 215.

Basis for American interest in Pacific.—As soon as the independence of the United States had been recognized by England the citizens of the newly formed republic began the industry of fishing in the Pacific, and their interest in those waters was extended by the beginning of direct trade with the far East. In the summer of 1784 an American vessel, the *Empress of China,* entered the port of Canton. She had sailed from New York under the command of Daniel Parker, and had returned to that city in May, 1785.[12] Other vessels made their way across the Pacific to China, but they were handicapped in the trade because the articles which they carried to the East were so inferior in value to those brought back. As a result they were obliged to take large amounts in specie in order to obtain full cargoes on their return trips. To obviate this difficulty and to increase their profits in the trade, some Boston merchants formed an association in 1787, for the purpose of combining the fur trade carried on in the north Pacific waters with the far eastern trade.[13]

For prosecuting their plans, the association fitted out two vessels in the summer of 1787, the ship *Columbia* of two hundred and twenty tons commanded by John Kendrick, and the sloop *Washington* of ninety tons in charge of Robert Gray. Their holds were filled with blankets, knives, iron bars, copper pans, and other articles suitable for trade with the Indians of the Northwest coast. In addition to passports from Massachusetts and sea letters from the federal government, the commanders carried letters from the Spanish minister in the United States recommending them for consideration to the representatives of his country on the

[12] Greenhow, *Oregon and California,* 178-181.

[13] John Ledyard had seen the possibilities of this plan, but he failed in his efforts to persuade the merchants of New York and Philadelphia to engage in it. *See* Jared Sparks, *The Life of John Ledyard, American Traveller; Comprising Selections from his Journals and Correspondence,* Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1828, 126-137.

Pacific coast. The two vessels sailed from Boston on September 30, 1787, doubled Cape Horn in January following, and after experiencing foul weather, a separation, and some misfortune, finally came together again in Nootka Sound in the fall of 1788, approximately a year after they had left Boston. Here they remained for the winter 1788-1789. In the spring they began a prosperous trade with the natives along the coast. Toward the end of summer all the furs were placed in the hold of the *Columbia,* and with Captain Gray in command she sailed for China. The furs were exchanged for tea in the Chinese markets, and the *Columbia* returned to the United States by way of Cape of Good Hope, reaching Boston in August, 1790. She had won the distinction of being the first vessel to bear the American flag around the world.

Voyage of 1790-1792.—Almost immediately Gray was sent back to the Pacific. During the summer of 1791 he traded up and down the coast as he had done formerly. The winter was spent in Adventure Cove of Clayoquot harbor. It was in this harbor that the *Tonquin,* which brought to the Pacific the men who founded Astoria, met its gruesome fate in the summer of 1811. During the winter Gray built a small vessel, the *Adventure,* which he launched on March 22, 1792, and sent out equipped to carry on an independent trade. It was while cruising along the coast toward the south that Gray's vessel was sighted by Vancouver as already related. The entry in Boit's Log of the *Columbia* for April 28, 1792, was as follows:

> This day spoke to his Britannic Majesty's Ships *Discovery* and *Chatham,* commanded by Captain George Vancouver, and Lieutenant Wm. Broughton, from England, on a voyage of discovery. Left April 1, 1791.
>
> Do. Otaheita January, '92, and Sandwich Isles March, '92. A boat boarded us from the *Discovery,* and we gave them all the information in our power. Especially as

respected the Straits of Juan de Fuca, which place they was then in search of. They bore away for the Straits mouth, which was not far distant. Stood in and drain'd the village we was at yesterday and then bore off after the English ships.[14]

Gray soon turned about, however, and followed the coast toward the south. On May 7 he saw an inlet which appeared to be a harbor. After preliminary examinations which convinced him of its excellent facilities, he entered. Ere long his vessel was surrounded by canoes filled with Indians.

They appeared to be a savage set, and was well arm'd, every man having his Quiver and Bow slung over his shoulder. Without doubt we are the first Civilized people that ever visited this port, and these poor fellows view'd us and the Ship with the greatest astonishment.[15]

On the following day this astonishment gave way to increasing resentment which culminated in an attack at midnight, but a shot from the *Columbia's* nine pounder demolished a large canoe killing most if not all of its occupants and putting the Indians to flight. The savages had been taught a wholesome lesson and thereafter apparently confined their energies for the time being to trading quantities of skins for such gaudy trinkets as the Americans had to offer. On the eleventh the *Columbia* weighed anchor and sailed out, the inlet having been named Gray's Harbor after her captain.[16]

---

[14] Boit, John, "Log of the *Columbia,* 1790-1792," in the Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings* (1919-1920), LIII. 244, 245. That part of the Log pertaining to the Pacific Northwest is republished, with editorial notes and comments by E. S. Meany, in the Washington State Historical Society *Quarterly,* January, 1921, 1-50.

[15] *Ibid.,* 245, 246.

[16] *Ibid.,* 247. Greenhow, *Oregon and California,* 235, says it was called Bulfinch's Harbor in honor of one of the owners of the *Columbia.* This he bases on the extract from the *Columbia's* Log-Book which was made by Bulfinch in 1816, and which Greenhow gives in his work, 434-436. The *Columbia's* official log-book was destroyed, but Bulfinch claimed to have made this copy of part of volume two before its destruction. There can be no hesitancy, however, in giving preference to Boit's *Log* in this case.

It was May 12, 1792, that the *Columbia* entered the river which has since borne her name, and here she remained until the twentieth while her crew traded with the Indians, repaired the ship, and examined the channel. Captain Gray gave the river its name, and called the northern and southern points at the entrance, Cape Hancock and Point Adams respectively. The latter name is still retained on modern maps, but Cape Disappointment, the name given by Meares, is applied to the former. "This river in my opinion," Boit commented, "would be a fine place for to set up a *Factory*."[17]

Vancouver visits the Columbia.—Gray's vessel struck a rock soon after leaving the Columbia, and he made his way northward with difficulty. At Nootka he gave an account of his discoveries to the Spanish commander, Quadra, whom he found there, together with charts of Gray's Harbor and the river he had named the Columbia. Later Vancouver received copies of these from Quadra, and on October 13, 1792, sailed south from Nootka, coming opposite Gray's harbor five days later. Thence he sent one of his vessels under the command of Lieutenant Whidley to make an examination of the harbor while with the other two he proceeded to the mouth of the Columbia. Vancouver was unable to enter the mouth of the river with his own vessel, but his lieutenant, Broughton, effected an entrance in the *Chatham* on October 20. The commander sailed south with his own vessel to San Francisco Bay, and thence to Monterey where he was joined by his subordinates in December. Here a report of their explorations and discoveries was made by Whidley and Broughton. The latter had made his way up the Columbia for a distance of a hundred miles.[18]

---

[17] *Ibid.*, 248.

[18] Greenhow, *Oregon and California*, 235-237; 246-248.

Overland explorations to the Northwest.—In the meantime the basis for American and English claims to the Oregon country were developing from another angle. This was from claims based on overland explorations. We have seen already that the expedition led by Lewis and Clark was the fulfillment of a long cherished plan which Jefferson had had for exploring the country drained by the Columbia. It also afforded a strong basis for American claims to the Oregon country. Furthermore it stimulated an interest in the fur trade both among British and Americans. As soon as Lewis and Clark appeared on the Missouri their movements were watched by agents of the Northwest Company; and when it was known definitely that the Americans had orders to explore the Columbia an effort was made by the British Association to anticipate them. In 1805 the Northwest Company sent a party to occupy the Columbia under the leadership of Laroque, but it went no farther than the Mandan villages on the Missouri. A second expedition was sent out from Fort Chipewyan under Simon Fraser during the following year. Fraser led his party across the Rocky Mountains near the passage of the Peace River, and built a trading establishment on what is now Fraser Lake near the fifty-fourth degree of north latitude. Subsequently other posts were formed in the same country, and by 1808 the region was known as New Caledonia among the British traders. During the early part of this same year the Missouri Fur Company was founded, and in 1809 it succeeded in erecting a trading station on the Lewis River, the great southern branch of the Columbia.[19]

Astor's scheme; Astoria founded.—John Jacob Astor was among the first Americans to see the possi-

[19] Greenhow, *Oregon and California*, 290; Schafer, *Pacific Slope and Alaska*, 58; McElroy, *Winning of the Far West*, 97.

bilities of the development of the fur trade in the far West as a result of the report of the Lewis and Clark expedition. The scheme that developed in his fertile brain for monopolizing the fur trade of the vast territory drained by the Missouri and Columbia rivers has been discussed in the chapter on the fur trade. It is sufficient to remind the reader here that his plans called for a chain of trading posts extending across the continent from New York to the Pacific by way of the Great Lakes and the Missouri and the Columbia rivers. The Pacific Fur Company was organized and two expeditions were fitted out, one to go by sea and the other by land with a view to developing these plans. The ship *Tonquin,* a vessel of two hundred and ninety tons burden, was sent out from New York on September 6, 1810, carrying merchandise for the trade, supplies, and materials for building a trading post at the mouth of the Columbia. The vessel reached the mouth of the Columbia March 22, 1811. Captain Thorn lost seven of his crew in attempting to sound the channel when the elements were turbulent, but the *Tonquin* finally crossed the bar and on the twenty-fifth was anchored safely in the river. Two months or more were occupied in selecting a site for a post and unloading the cargo. The name Astoria was given to this the first American colony planted on the Pacific, [20] and on June 5 the *Tonquin* left the Columbia for its fatal voyage to the north. Meanwhile the land party was making its way across the plains and over the mountains, dodging bands of hostile Indians and drinking deeply of the dregs of hardships and sufferings which fell in unmeasured quantities to inexperienced overland expeditions of the first half of the nineteenth century.

[20] During the summer of 1810 Captains Jonathan and Nathan Winship of Boston tried to build a commercial station near the mouth of the Columbia, but the flood had driven them away. Schafer, *Pacific Slope and Alaska,* 63.

Chastened by adversity, Hunt and his companions arrived at Astoria in groups during the early weeks of 1812.

Americans learn of presence of Northwest Company.—During the month of May a small party from the fort ascended the river as far as the Cascades, entering the mouth of the Cowlitz on the way and visiting other inlets where the presence of Indian villages appeared to offer profitable trade. It was led by Alexander Mackay whose subsequent loss in the *Tonquin* disaster was a severe blow to the colony. In the middle of July following another expedition was preparing to ascend the river under the leadership of David Stuart. These preparations were undertaken because two strange Indians came to Astoria bearing a letter from one Northwest Company trader to another. The Indians were questioned in regard to the country up the river. Their report was favorable, but they also informed the Americans that a rival company had established itself on the Spokane River. Just as Stuart's party was about to set out a large canoe drew into the cove at Astoria bearing a British flag and David Thompson, the geographer of the Northwest Company.

Thompson was indefatigable as an explorer. He had been on the upper Columbia as early as June 30, 1807,[21] and during the succeeding three years he made a number of expeditions through the mountains discovering new routes from the headwaters of the Saskatchewan and Athabasca rivers to the Columbia. He built Fort Kootenay on the upper Columbia before the end of the year 1807. During the next two years he erected another fort on Pend d'Oreille Lake, where Clark's Fork of the Columbia enters it, and a second in November, 1809, in the Flathead country higher up Clark's Fork. The last two were south of the forty-

[21] Davidson, *The Northwest Company*, 98; Schafer, *Pacific Slope and Alaska*, 67.

ninth parallel within the present boundary of the United States.

Americans enter territory claimed by Northwest Company.—Stuart delayed his departure a little over a week. On July 23, 1811, accompanied by Thompson and his party, the American leader began his voyage up the river. The two parties journeyed together as far as the Cascades, and Thompson and his men went on in advance. Stuart's party experienced difficulty with the Indians at the Long Narrows and at the junction of the Columbia and Walla Walla rivers. When they arrived at the forks of the Columbia they found a piece of paper securely fastened to a flagstaff on which was written the following proclamation:

> Know hereby that this country is claimed by Great Britain as part of its Territories, and that the Northwest Company of Merchants from Canada, finding the Factory for this People inconvenient for them, do hereby intend to erect a factory in this Place for the Commerce of the Country around. D. THOMPSON. . . .[22]

Stuart and his men believed that Thompson had placed it there on his way up the river in advance of the Americans, but it had been written July 9 and left by the Englishman on his way down.

Pushing on, the Americans made their way up the north branch of the Columbia to the junction of the Okanogan in the vicinity of the forty-eighth parallel, and prepared for the winter's trade with the Indians. After arranging to leave the post in charge of one of the clerks, Alexander Ross, and sending four of his men back to Astoria, Stuart with the remaining three explored the country to the head of the Okanogan and

---

[22] Quoted in Schafer, *Pacific Slope and Alaska*, 67, 68. *See also* Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast*, II. 171-175.

crossed the divide to Thompson's branch of the Fraser River. When he returned from his exploration in March, 1812, he found that Ross had collected "1550 beavers, besides other peltries, worth in the Canton market 2250£ sterling, and which on an average stood the concern in but 5½d. apiece, valuing the merchandise at sterling cost, or in round numbers 35£ sterling; a specimen of our trade among the Indians!" [23] Before April 29 they had increased the number of beaver skins to twenty-five hundred.

The success of this expedition was sufficient to stimulate further inland explorations, and of course others were made, [24] but the War of 1812 cut short the activities of the Pacific Fur Company. Astor, however, had succeeded in strengthening the claims of the United States to the Oregon country by the erection of fur-trading posts in that territory.

Sale of Astoria to Northwest Company.—On October 16, 1813, an agreement was made between the representatives of the Pacific Fur Company on the one hand and the Northwest Company on the other whereby the former sold its "establishments, furs, and stock in hand" to the latter, for about fifty-eight thousand dollars. While in the midst of transferring the goods to their new owners, the British sloop of war *Raccoon* under the command of Captain Black appeared at the mouth of the river. He learned, much to his dissatisfaction, of the sale made by the Americans to British subjects. Hauling down the flag of the United States he raised that of Great Britain over the establishment and changed the name to Fort George. Having "given vent to his indignation against the partners of both companies whom he loudly accused of collusion to defraud himself and his

[23] Ross, A., *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River*, 150.

[24] Schafer, *Pacific Slope and Alaska*, 68-73.

officers and crew of the reward due for their exertions, he sailed back to the South Pacific." [25]

The first article of the treaty of Ghent provides that:

> All territory, places, and possessions whatsoever, taken by either party from the other during the war, or which may be taken after the signing of this treaty, excepting only the islands hereinafter mentioned, shall be restored without delay, and without causing any destruction or carrying away any of the artillery or other public property originally captured in the said forts or places, and which shall remain therein upon the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, or any slaves or other private property.

When Captain Black took possession of Astoria he changed the character of the transfer from that of a mere sale from one company to another to that of a military conquest. This change under the provisions of that part of article one of the treaty of Ghent just quoted, caused its subsequent restoration to the United States.

In accordance with this provision, therefore, the Secretary of State, Monroe, on July 18, 1815, informed Baker, the *chargé d'affaires* of Great Britain at Washington, that it was the President's intention to reoccupy the post at the mouth of the Columbia immediately. No steps were taken to carry out the plan, however, until 1817. In September of that year Captain J. Biddle, commanding the sloop of war *Ontario,* and J. B. Prevost, were commissioned jointly to proceed in the *Ontario* to the mouth of the Columbia and "assert the claim of the United States to sovereignty of the adjacent country, in a friendly and peaceable manner, and without the employment of force." [26]

---

[25] Greenhow, *Oregon and California,* 304.
[26] *Ibid.,* 307.

Astoria restored.—The departure of Biddle and Prevost for the Pacific raised objections from the British minister at Washington, who denied the right of the United States to occupy the post at the mouth of the Columbia. He said the place had not been captured during the late war, but that the property had been purchased from the Americans by the Northwest Company, and that the territory had been occupied in the name of the British King prior to the War of 1812, and had been considered as forming part of His Majesty's dominions. No claim for restitution could therefore be founded upon the first article of the treaty of Ghent. He also informed the British secretary for foreign affairs, Lord Castlereagh, of what the United States had done. The latter official addressed a series of objections to Rush, the American representative in London, on the subject, but the latter defended the position taken by his government. It was finally agreed that the post should be returned to the Americans, and that the question of title to the territory should be considered in the negotiations on various subjects which would begin at an early date. Agents of the Northwest Company and the commander of the British fleet in the Pacific were instructed accordingly to turn over to the Americans the post at the mouth of the Columbia. On August 9, 1818, Captain Biddle took temporary possession of the country in the name of the United States. Prevost had disembarked in Chili for a while and was brought to the Columbia in the British frigate *Blossom,* arriving there early in October. The British officers then made a permanent surrender of Fort George, the name which had been given Astoria by them, and Prevost accepted the post in the name of his country. Formalities were completed by lowering the British flag and hoisting that of the United States in its place, after which a salute was fired by the *Blossom.* Fort George was rechristened Astoria.

The treaty of Ghent left many questions unsettled between the United States and Great Britain. They came up for consideration at a conference held in London by the representatives of the American and British governments in 1818. Among the important issues to receive attention were the settlement of the boundary west of the Lake of the Woods and the conclusion of an agreement in regard to the claims of the two nations to Oregon. The first of these questions it will be remembered dates back to the ambiguous phrasing in the treaty of 1783. The purchase of Louisiana in 1803 with an unspecified northern boundary increased the need for an adjustment in that section. Rush and Gallatin, the American representatives, proposed that the boundary between the territories of the United States and Canada be drawn by extending a line from the northwest corner of the Lake of the Woods, north or south as the case might require, to the forty-ninth parallel, and along that parallel to the Pacific. The British commissioners, Goulburn and Robinson, after failing in their efforts to have the navigation of the Mississippi opened to British subjects, finally agreed to accept the line proposed by the Americans as far west as the Rocky Mountains, and an article to that effect was included in the Convention of 1818.

Convention of 1818.—The commissioners then took up the claims of the respective nations to the country west of the mountains. While the Americans did not maintain that the United States "had a perfect right to that country," they did insist that the claims of their government were at least as good as those of Great Britain. The Columbia, they said, had been discovered by Americans, it had been explored first by Americans from its source to its mouth, and the earliest establishments along its course had been erected by citizens of the United States. But this point of view was not accepted by the British commissioners. They main-

tained that earlier voyages, "principally that of Captain Cook, gave to Great Britain the rights derived from discovery; and they alluded to purchases from the natives south of the Columbia, which they alleged to have been made prior to the American Revolution." No formal proposition for a boundary was made by them, but they "intimated that the river itself was the most convenient which could be adopted; and that they would not agree to any that did not give them the harbor at the mouth of the river, in common with the United States." [27]

Under the circumstances, then, it was obviously impossible for the American and British representatives to agree upon a definite settlement of the question. It was finally determined, therefore, that all territories and their waters claimed by either nation west of the mountains, should be open to the subjects of both for a period of ten years. It was understood, however, that claims made by their respective governments or by any other nation were to remain unaffected by this argument. The Convention with these provisions included in it was signed by the representatives of the two governments on October 20, 1818, and ratified by both nations soon after.[28]

Decline of American interest in the Northwest.—To people living during the period following the conclusion of the Convention of 1818, it doubtless seemed as if the entire Northwest were destined to become a part of the British possessions. The jurisdiction of the courts of upper Canada had been extended to the territories of that section. The Hudson Bay Company had absorbed its greatest rival, the Northwest Company, and had received exclusive privileges of trading in all that region drained by the Columbia. Large sums of money were spent by it in its efforts to

[27] *American State Papers, Foreign Relations,* IV. 381.
[28] *Ibid.,* 406.

found settlements along the river and to extend its influence over the Indians of the surrounding country. And indeed these efforts were not all in vain. The United States was forced to renounce all ideas of renewing its establishments in that part of America, and even to withdraw its vessels from the coast.

Indeed, for more than ten years after the capture of Astoria by the British, scarcely a single American citizen was to be seen in those countries. Trading expeditions were subsequently made from Missouri to the headwaters of the Platte and the Colorado, within the limits of California, and one or two hundred hunters and trappers, from the United States were generally roving through that region; but the Americans had no settlements of any kind, and their government exercised no jurisdiction whatsoever west of the Rocky Mountains.[29]

And yet the United States lost nothing by this agreement. Great Britain had acknowledged the justice of the pretensions of the American government, and the latter could afford to wait. Time was on her side.

In his last annual message to Congress in December, 1824, President Monroe recommended the establishment of a military post at the mouth of the Columbia or at some other place within the acknowledged limits of the United States. The purpose of such a post was to afford protection to Americans engaged in commerce and fishing in the Pacific, to conciliate the Indians of the Northwest, and to promote intercourse between those territories and the settled parts of the United States. During the following year the same measure was recommended by Adams at the beginning of the session of the new Congress. In compliance with these recommendations a bill was brought forward in the Lower House, but it was tabled.

In the meantime the period of ten years provided

[29] Greenhow, *Oregon and California*, 344, 345.

in the treaty of 1818 was drawing to a close. The United States was anxious to conclude a definite settlement before the end of the period, and Great Britain manifested a willingness to reach a settlement. Negotiations were opened in London in 1826. The forty-ninth parallel was again offered by the American representative, but the British refused it. It was soon evident that the time for an amicable adjustment had not come. The British ministers then proposed a renewal of the Convention of 1818 for a period of fifteen years from the date of the expiration of that Convention, but with the understanding that during the period neither nation would exercise the right of exclusive sovereignty or dominion over that region.[80] The proposal was immediately rejected by Gallatin.

Renewed attempts to settle claims to Northwest.—At no time previously had the claims of the two nations to the Oregon country been discussed so thoroughly. The representatives of both exerted themselves in assembling arguments on behalf of the claims of their respective countries and in trying to refute those presented by their opponents. The existing agreement ended October 20, 1828. To conclude a definite settlement before that time was impossible apparently. Even an attempt to renew the existing agreement was not without its difficulties. The American representatives absolutely refused to agree to any declaration or explanation regarding the terms under which the territory under dispute should remain open to the people of the two nations. The British representatives were equally determined to refuse all proposals to renew the Convention for a specified period of time without such declarations or explanations. A compromise was reached finally on August 6, 1827. The third article of the Convention of 1818, opening all the territory

[80] *American State Papers, Foreign Relations,* VI. 662.

claimed by Great Britain or by the United States west of the Rocky Mountains, to citizens or subjects of both nations, was "indefinitely extended and continued in force." Either party, however, could "at any time after October 20, 1828, on giving due notice of twelve months to the other contracting party," annul the Convention.[31]

With the renewal of the Convention of 1818, Oregon diplomacy rested while American interests in the country grew stronger.

Bibliographical Notes

The journals of the more important explorers are cited in the footnotes. Valuable secondary authorities are Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast,* 2 vols., San Francisco, 1884 (Vols. XXVII and XXVIII of *The Works of*); Robert Greenhow, *A History of Oregon and California, and the other Territories on the Northwest Coast of North America; Accompanied by a Geographical View and Map of those Countries, and a Number of Documents as Proofs and Illustrations of the History,* Philadelphia, 1845; Robert McNutt McElroy, *The Winning of the Far West; A History of the Regaining of Texas, of the Mexican War, and the Oregon Question; and of the Successive Additions to the Territory of the United States, within the Continent of America, 1829-1867,* New York, 1914; McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War,* 8 vols., New York, 1883-1913; William R. Manning, "The Nootka Sound Controversy" in the American Historical Association, *Annual Report,* 1904; Joseph Schafer, *The Pacific Slope and Alaska* (Vol. X of Guy Carleton Lee, *The History of North America*), Philadelphia, 1904; also Schafer, *A History of the Pacific Northwest,* New York, 1918; and H. Morse Stephens, "The Conflict of European Nations in the Pacific," in Stephens and Bolton (editors), *The Pacific Ocean in History,* New York, 1917.

Further material may be found in bibliographies already cited, and in Charles W. Smith, *Pacific Northwest Americana.*

---

[31] *Ibid.,* 688, 689. The protocols of the various conferences may be found between 655-696.

CHAPTER VII

LATER EXPLORATIONS WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI

Nearly all of the early American explorations made west of the Mississippi were confined to the country east of the Rocky Mountains. The exception is the Lewis and Clark expedition already noted. The majority of the explorers to be considered here extended their operations across the plains and the mountains to the Pacific. But there are exceptions in the latter case as in the former, and among them is Major Long's expedition to the St. Peter's River.

Plans for new explorations in the Northwest.—Calhoun was unable to develop his plans for western explorations in their entirety in 1819 because of the opposition of Congress. Out of the elaborate preparations made at that time came the comparatively insignificant expedition to the Rocky Mountains of 1819 to 1820 headed by Major Stephen H. Long. His success on this occasion pointed him out as a competent leader for further western explorations. This time the field chosen for investigation was the country bounded by the Mississippi and Missouri rivers and the forty-ninth parallel of latitude.

Major Long's instruction.—Long's instructions were dated April 25, 1823. The object of his expedition was to make a general survey of the country with topographical description of the same, to determine the latitude and longitude of the more important places, to examine and describe the animal, vegetable, and mineral life, and to inquire into the character and customs of the Indian tribes of the country. He was referred also to the instructions which had been issued in connection with the expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1819 to 1820.

Officials of the expedition.—The company that left Philadelphia on April 30, 1823, contained a zoölogist, mineralogist and geologist, a landscape painter and designer, besides Major Long of the topographical engineers, the commander of the expedition. Two of these men, William H. Keating and Thomas Say, the mineralogist and geologist, and the zoölogist respectively, were to serve in the capacity of journalist also. Dr. Edwin James, who had been with Major Long on his Rocky Mountain expedition, was to have joined the company but he remained in Pittsburg until it was too late to overtake the party.

To the mouth of the Minnesota.—They traveled by way of Fort Wayne and Chicago to Prairie du Chien, where their number was increased by the addition of a corporal and nine soldiers under the command of a lieutenant. The enlarged party divided before ascending the Mississippi, three or four following the course of the stream overland while the main division ascended in a boat. At Fort Snelling a brief stop was made while plans were perfected for ascending the St. Peter's (Minnesota) River. Additional reënforcements received here brought the total number of the party up to thirty-three.

Arrival at Pembina.—Again the company divided, some going by land for the purpose of exploring the country in the vicinity of the river while the main party ascended the stream in four canoes, the plan being to unite in camp each night. At Lake Traverse they were welcomed by a salute from the fort of the Columbia Fur Company. While in this vicinity Long made the first accurate exploration of the sources of the St. Peter's River. On July 26 the expedition left the fort and proceeded north over the "usual route" along the east bank of the Red River, accompanied by a member of the firm of the Columbia Fur Company who served in the capacity of guide, and arrived opposite the Pem-

bina settlement on August 5. They were ferried across the river where they remained four days.[1]

Lord Selkirk's colony.—Pembina owed its origin to the efforts of Lord Selkirk to establish a settlement in America. The area of the territory acquired for the purpose was said to consist of 110,000 square miles situated on the Red and Assiniboine rivers. About seventy colonists arrived in 1812. Governor Macdonell selected Point Douglas as the future center of the colony and the settlement was to be at what is now Kildonan, but on account of the lack of food the settlers were taken sixty miles south to Pembina. By November, 1812, a post had been built which afforded shelter, and the new location had the further advantage of being near the buffalo herds. Two hundred and seventy colonists had arrived by 1815. One hundred and forty of these had been led away by the Northwest Company in 1814, leaving one hundred and thirty people in the settlement. The journalist of Long's expedition estimated the population in 1823 at about three hundred and fifty, and the number of horses in the village at sixty.[2]

Character of the settlement.—The people depended largely upon hunting for a living. There were very few farmers in the community. The listless, indolent, cunning half-breeds made up most of the male population, and the rest were Swiss and Scotch settlers. The Swiss were nearly all old soldiers who were unfit for agricultural pursuits. The best element in the popula-

---

[1] Keating, William H., *Narrative of an Expedition to the Sources of St. Peter's River, Lake Winnepeek, Lake of the Woods, etc., Performed in the Year 1823, by Order of the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, under the Command of Stephen H. Long, U. S. T. E.*, 2 vols., London, 1825.

[2] *Ibid.*, II. 32-43. *See* Bryce, George, *The Remarkable History of the Hudson Bay Company*, London, 207-214, for a brief account of Selkirk's colony. A more complete account is in Chester Martin, "Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada," in *Oxford Historical and Literary Studies*, Vol. VII, Oxford, 1916.

tion was the Scotch. These people had brought with them their steady habits and indefatigable perseverance. Small fields of wheat, maize, barley, potatoes, turnips, and tobacco were cultivated, and a "few of the more respectable inhabitants keep cows and attend to agriculture, but we saw neither a plough nor a yoke of oxen in use in the whole of the upper settlement." [3]

Such was the estimate of the Pembina settlement as recorded by the official journalist of Long's Red River expedition in the summer of 1823.

Determining northern boundary of United States.—The company's principal object in visiting this section was to locate the forty-ninth degree of latitude. Three different observations were taken before it was determined. An oak post was fixed on the line bearing the letters G. B. on the north side and U. S. on the south, and at noon on August 8 a flag was raised, a salute fired, and a proclamation made by Major Long taking possession of all territory on the Red River above that point. The Pembina settlers who had assembled to witness these formalities appeared to be well pleased when they learned that they were wholly within the territory of the United States, and particularly elated with the thought that all the buffalo would be on their side of the international boundary line.

Problem of selecting return route.—According to his instructions Major Long's route lay along the forty-ninth parallel to Lake Superior, but he was informed at Pembina that such an undertaking would be impracticable. The entire country was covered with small lagoons and marshes toward the east and northeast. The most feasible thing to do, therefore, seemed to be to follow the principal streams in bark canoes. Of the several routes suggested, that by way of Lake Winnipeg appeared to be the best. It had been used

[3] *Ibid.*, II. 41, 42.

formerly by the partners and clerks of the Northwest Company and was still traveled occasionally by Hudson Bay Company employees. The selection of this new method of travel made it unnecessary if not burdensome to keep the horses any longer, and they were traded to settlers of Pembina for supplies and services.

Major Long left Pembina for Fort Douglas on August 9 and arrived at the latter place on the eleventh. He was followed by the members of his expedition on the tenth. A neat, prosperous, little village of six hundred souls living in the midst of constantly improving agricultural conditions was what the Americans found at Fort Douglas. The Scotch and Swiss settlers constituted the best element in the community.

The return.—The final stages of the journey were down Red River to Lake Winnipeg and from there a general easterly course brought them to the northern shore of Lake Superior. The remainder of the journey was through Lakes Superior, Huron, and Erie to Niagara Falls, and thence to Rochester and Philadelphia where they arrived on October 26, 1823. When the party had reached the northern shore of Lake Superior the soldiers who had joined the expedition returned to their posts in the Northwest and only the officers who had gone out from Philadelphia in the first place returned to that city.

Two years later another official expedition was organized for a somewhat different mission into the West. Following the War of 1812 the fur traders in the upper Missouri country had experienced increasing hostility from the Indians. In 1823 Colonel Leavenworth had conducted an unsatisfactory campaign against the Arikaras, and Congress passed an act authorizing the formation of treaties with the tribes in that section. President Monroe appointed General Henry Atkinson of the army and Major Benjamin O'Fallou, Indian agent, as commissioners to conclude these treaties.

Atkinson's expedition up the Missouri, 1825.—The commissioners accompanied by four hundred and seventy-six men left Council Bluffs about the middle of May, 1825. Forty members of the expedition were mounted and went by land, keeping at all times, however, within reach of the boats which bore the main party. This formidable organization had little difficulty in inspiring the various tribes with peaceful inclinations. Military displays were held frequently and were invariably preceded or followed by the conclusion of treaties and the distribution of presents. The Otoes, the Tetons, the Yanktons, the Sioux, the Ogallalahs, the Cheyennes, the Arikaras, the Hunkpapas, the Crows, and a few others signed treaties, but the Assiniboines and the hostile Blackfeet could not be found. While encamped a short distance above the mouth of the Yellowstone the expedition was joined by Ashley and his twenty-four companions who had descended the latter stream *en route* from Great Salt Lake valley to St. Louis with a hundred packs of beaver skins. General Atkinson offered him transportation and the two parties descended the Missouri together, arriving at Council Bluffs on September 19. A few days were spent here concluding additional treaties, and General Atkinson with a few companions continued to St. Louis, arriving there toward the end of October after an absence of just seven months.[4]

This expedition had been successful. Atkinson had not only concluded treaties with the Indians but he had collected information regarding the country. It had been the intention of the government, as pointed out elsewhere in this volume, to establish military posts in the Trans-Mississippi West, but Atkinson said he found no evidence of British intrigues among the Indians in that section and the scheme was abandoned.

[4] Chittenden, *American Fur Trade*, II. 608-617.

Explorations of Captain Bonneville.—The explorations of Captain Bonneville owe their prominence almost entirely to the facile pen of Washington Irving.[5] The expedition was organized at Fort Osage and started from this point on May 1, 1832. The usual route was followed up the Platte and Sweetwater and through the South Pass to Green River. The next three years were spent in profitless fur trading enterprises among the Indians. During this time the country between Green River and Fort Walla Walla was traversed, some of it several times. In the summer of 1833 Bonneville organized a branch expedition under the command of I. R. Walker. It was probably intended from the beginning as a trapping party which was to go to California.[6]

Walker left the Green River on July 24, 1833, with forty men. The company went first to the valley of the Great Salt Lake where they stopped long enough to lay in a supply of buffalo meat. They then followed a western course through the Salt Lake desert to the Humboldt River, arriving at the sink in October. Thence they crossed the Sierras by an unknown route. The winter was spent in a round of pleasure and when spring came several of the party decided to remain in California. The others returned by way of the San Joaquin valley and crossed the mountains through Walker's Pass—so called in honor of its discovery by the leader of the expedition at this time—and rejoined their companions on Bear River June 1, 1834. Walker had led the second trapping expedition over the mountains into California from the East.

---

[5] Irving, Washington, *The Rocky Mountains, or, Some Incidents and Adventures in the Far West; digested from the Journal of Captain B. L. E. Bonneville of the Army of the United States, and illustrated from various other sources.*

[6] Irving in the work just cited says the purpose was to make a thorough exploration of the Great Salt Lake country, but Chittenden in his chapter on Bonneville in *The American Fur Trade,* I. gives another view.

Explorations in upper Mississippi.—In the summer of the same year that Bonneville began his explorations (1832), Lieutenant James Allen of the United States army, accompanied by Henry R. Schoolcraft, Indian agent at Mackinac and former explorer of the White River, went from Lake Superior by way of the St. Louis River to the headwaters of the Mississippi. Having made "the first topographical and hydrographical delineation of the source of the Mississippi,"[7] they returned by way of the St. Croix and Bois Brule. Other explorations were made through this region between 1836 and 1840. The most important were conducted by the distinguished French astronomer and geographer, J. N. Nicollet. During the years 1836 to 1837 Nicollet was occupied privately in this work, but in 1838 he was employed by the United States government. He discovered the true source of the Mississippi and made other valuable contributions to American geography. Associated with him from 1836 to 1840 was a young lieutenant by the name of John C. Frémont.

Events leading to Frémont's first expedition.—Soon after Nicollet returned to Washington plans began to develop for sending him forth on another mission of a different character from the one in which he had been engaged. This was nothing less than heading an expedition whose function should be to open a way through the mountains which would facilitate emigration into Oregon. It was to be " 'auxiliary and in aid to the emigration to the Lower Columbia;' it was to indicate and describe the line of travel, and the best positions for military posts; and to describe, and fix in position, the South Pass in the Rocky Mountains, at which this initial expedition was to terminate."[8] At

[7] Quoted in Thwaites, Reuben Gold, *A Brief History of the Rocky Mountain Explorations*, New York, 1914, 218.

[8] Frémont, John Charles, *Memoirs of My Life, Including in the Narra-*

that time Frémont expected to be an assistant, but Nicollet's health rendered him unfit to take the responsibilities of such an expedition and the young lieutenant was selected for the task. This decision was reached at the very end of 1841.

Organizing the party.—During the early months of 1842 Frémont made careful preparations for his western explorations. He left Washington on May 2 and went direct to St. Louis. Some time was spent in gathering suitable men and the necessary equipment for his undertaking, but his task was lightened by the willing coöperation of the people of this frontier metropolis. Twenty-one men were gathered together, principally Creole and Canadian *voyageurs* who had learned prairie life while in the employment of fur companies. Charles Preuss was topographical assistant; Maxwell was hunter; and the famous Kit Carson was chosen as guide. There were two others who joined the party largely for pleasure. These were Randolph Benton, the twelve-year-old brother-in-law of Frémont, and young Henry Brant.

Frémont traveled by boat from St. Louis to the mouth of the Kansas, "where a few houses were the nucleus of a future town, but then called 'Chouteau's' or Kansas Landing," thence by land ten miles up the Kansas River to Cyprian Chouteau's trading post. Twenty days were spent in completing preparations for the trip, and on June 10, 1842, the little company, judiciously equipped, started on its western mission.

Country explored.—The route lay along the valleys of the Big Blue and the Platte rivers. On the morning of July 9 the company caught the first faint glimpse of the Rocky Mountains, about sixty miles away, and during the early part of August they went through the South Pass. On August 15, Frémont with a few com-

tive Five Journeys of Western Exploration during the Years, 1842, 1843-1844, 1845-1846-1847, 1848-1849, 1853-1854, etc., New York, 1887, 69, 71.

panions ascended the peak which bears his name, and "unfurled the national flag to wave in the breeze where never flag waved before." Observations were taken as complete as their equipment permitted, and they began the descent, feeling that they "had accomplished an object of laudable ambition, and beyond the strict order of our instructions. We had climbed the loftiest peak of the Rocky Mountains,[9] and looked down upon the snow a thousand feet below, and, standing where never human foot had stood before, felt the exultation of first explorers." The return journey was along the Platte. On October 10, just four months following their departure from Cyprian Chouteau's, they stopped at the mouth of the Kansas to take some observations and sixteen days later arrived in St. Louis. Frémont proceeded by boat to Washington, reaching that city on October 29. The winter was spent in preparing a complete report of his first expedition and making plans for the second.

Object of the second expedition.—The object of the second expedition was to examine the broad region south of the Columbia River lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific. This combined with the first expedition was intended to give a "connected survey of the interior and western half of the continent."

Expedition and attempts to delay it.—A party of thirty-nine men was organized for carrying out these further explorations, and in May, 1843, the journey westward was begun. Frémont tells us in his *Memoirs* that his departure was hastened by a letter from Mrs. Frémont urging him "to set out upon the journey forthwith and make Bent's Fort" the temporary halting place. She had been directed to open his mail and to use her own discretion in regard to forwarding any of it. There came an official order from Colonel Abert,

[9] *Ibid.*, 151. Of course he had not. Frémont's Peak is less than fourteen thousand feet in height.

the head of Frémont's corps in Washington, ordering him to return and explain why he had taken a howitzer with him in addition to ordinary arms, particularly since his was a scientific and not a military expedition. Mrs. Frémont felt that the order was based on a flimsy pretext and that obedience to it would break up the expedition. She did not hesitate, therefore, to suppress it and to send a letter urging her husband to separate himself immediately from all avenues of communication with the settlements. He obeyed, and received explanations upon his return.

Frémont had already determined to vary the route to the Rocky Mountains from that traveled in the previous year. Instead of following up the valley of the Platte River in the vicinity of the forty-second parallel of latitude as formerly, he planned to follow up the "Valley of the Kansas River and to the head of the Arkansas, and to some pass in the mountains, if any could be found, at the source of that river." [10]

Along the Kansas River. — This was the route planned; the route traveled was somewhat different. The south bank of the Kansas River was followed to the point where its main stream is formed by the junction of the Smoky Hill and Republican rivers. Crossing the former the party passed through the country between the Republican and Solomon rivers. On the afternoon of June 30 they found themselves overlooking a broad and misty valley. At about ten miles distant and one thousand feet below them the south fork of the Platte was rolling magnificently along, swollen with the waters of the melting snows. It was in strong and refreshing contrast to the parched country from which they had just issued, and "when at night the broad expanse of water grew indistinct, it almost seemed that we had pitched our tents on the shore of the sea."

[10] *Ibid.*, 170.

Explorations in Colorado.—On July 4 the expedition came to St. Vrain's Fort, a Hudson Bay Company post north of the present city of Denver. Thence they journeyed up the Platte a short distance and turned east and south, descending part way, the *Fontaine-qui-bouit* or Boiling Spring River to its mouth. They were about seventy miles above Bent's Fort on the Arkansas. As a result of these explorations in the vicinity of Colorado Springs one of the two principal branches of the upper Arkansas was surveyed to its head, and the survey of the South Fork of the Platte was entirely completed. Frémont then led his men once more to St. Vrain's Fort where he found Fitzpatrick with a part of the expedition that had been left in his charge. The company had been divided while ascending the Republican River, and Frémont had led his men more rapidly across the plains while Fitzpatrick had brought the wagons and supplies more leisurely to St. Vrain's Fort, within the vicinity of the present city of Boulder, Colorado.

In vicinity of Great Salt Lake.—Before resuming explorations the party was again divided. Fitzpatrick with one division was directed to cross the plains to the mouth of the Laramie River and follow the regular emigrant route to Fort Hall, there to await the arrival of Frémont with the other division. Meanwhile Frémont with his smaller group of thirteen men ascended the Cache-a-la-Poudre River. It was July 26 when the two divisions resumed the march. Frémont's course was west to the Green River and up that stream to the vicinity of the forty-second parallel where he crossed to Bear River. This part of the journey was over a well-marked road on which they passed parties of emigrants. Some explorations were made of the Great Salt Lake and of the country north of it, and frequent observations were taken to determine longitude and latitude. About the middle of September Frémont came

upon Fitzpatrick and the two parties were united in the vicinity of the appointed rendezvous. It was a fortunate meeting for Frémont because he had been short of provisions for several days.

At Fort Vancouver. — The expedition made its way laboriously through a long ravine which led to a pass in the dividing ridge between the waters of Bear and Snake rivers, and on September 18 came out on the plains of the Columbia "in sight of the famous 'Three Buttes,' a well-known landmark in the country." The snow had begun to fall by the twentieth, and Frémont determined to reduce the size of his party by sending some of the men back to the settlements. Having procured oxen at Fort Hall the expedition made its way down the Snake and Columbia to the Dalles. Camp was established and with a few companions he went by water to Fort Vancouver. Kit Carson remained at the Dalles with the main division refitting and making pack saddles in preparation for the return trip. When Frémont reached the rapids he began to see camps of emigrants along the shore and at the lower end of the rapids "many tents of emigrants" were pitched. At Fort Vancouver the intrepid leader found a ready welcome from Dr. McLoughlin who was in command, and was immediately supplied with provisions necessary to support the Americans on their return.

At Sutter's Fort.—It was November 25, 1843, when the company began the return journey. They traveled south by way of Klamath Lake, Pyramid Lake, and Carson River, and crossed the Sierras north of Tahoe. The last stages of this remarkable trip were made in the midst of intense suffering from cold and hunger, and indefatigable patience and perseverance on the part of both men and beasts. The snow was too soft to support the animals and yet with sufficient crust on the surface to cut their legs when they struggled to extricate them-

selves after sinking into it. To get them over the mountains appeared impossible. Fitzpatrick asked Frémont what should be done. He was instructed to make "mauls and shovels, turn in all the strength of his party to open and beat a road through the snow, strengthening it with branches and boughs of pines." Frémont himself joined in the work and the road was completed. On March 8, 1844, the party reached Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento River.

With an ample stock of provisions and an increased supply of animals the company left the fort on March 24, explored the San Joaquin valley and crossed the mountains through a gap. When as recorded in his *Memoirs,* he came to the crest of the mountains which were to separate him from the San Joaquin valley, Frémont drew certain conclusions from the explorations and observations of the preceding few months.

Frémont's estimate of what had been accomplished. —"We here left the waters of the Bay of San Francisco, and though forced upon them contrary to my intentions, I cannot regret the necessity which occasioned the deviation. It made me well acquainted with the great range of the Sierra Nevada of the Alta California, and showed that this broad and elevated snowy ridge was a continuation of the Cascade Range of Oregon, between which and the ocean there is still another and a lower range, parallel to the former and to the coast, and which may be called the Coast Range. It also made me well acquainted with the basin of the San Francisco Bay, and with the two fine rivers and their valleys (the Sacramento and San Joaquin) which are tributary to that bay; and cleared up some points in geography on which error had long prevailed.

It had been constantly represented, as I have already stated, that the Bay of San Francisco opened far into the interior, by some river coming down from the base of the

Rocky Mountains, and upon which supposed stream the name of Rio Buenaventura had been bestowed. Our observations of the Sierra Nevada, in the long distance from the head of the Sacramento to the head of the San Joaquin, and of the valley below it, which collects all the waters of the San Francisco Bay, show that this neither is nor can be the case. No river from the interior does, or can, cross the Sierra Nevada—itself more lofty than the Rocky Mountains; and as to the Buenaventura, the mouth of which seen on the coast gave the idea and the name of the reputed great river, it is, in fact, a small stream of no consequence, not only below the Sierra Nevada, but actually below the Coast Range—taking its rise within half a degree of the ocean, running parallel to it for about two degrees, and then falling into the Pacific near Monterey. There is no opening from the Bay of San Francisco into the interior of the continent. The two rivers which flow into it are comparatively short, and not perpendicular to the coast, but lateral to it, and having their heads toward Oregon and Southern California. They open lines of communication north and south, and not eastwardly; and thus this want of interior communication from the San Francisco Bay, now fully ascertained, gives great additional value to the Columbia, which stands alone as the only great river on the Pacific slope of our continent which leads from the ocean to the Rocky Mountains, and opens a line of communication from the sea to the Valley of the Mississippi.[11]

Homeward bound.—Frémont had continued south through the mountains to the Mohave Desert, the western border of which he apparently followed until within about a day's ride of Los Angeles. The route then turned east and the party soon came upon the trail used annually by the Santa Fé caravans. This they followed for four hundred and forty miles stopping at night on the established camping places along the route. In Utah where the trail passes through the Wasatch Mountains and turns off toward Santa Fé, the company

[11] *Ibid.*, 363, 364.

left it. They kept a northerly course and crossed the Sevier River to Utah Lake, arriving at the latter place toward the end of May, 1844. Thence the route was east across the mountains to the Platte. Further explorations were made in Colorado which brought the company to the Arkansas River, down which they traveled to Bent's Fort, arriving there June 30. A few members of the company remained at the fort, and on July 5 the others resumed the journey. The Arkansas River was followed a short distance and then the party turned north of east across the prairies. The last of July they were in camp again at the "little town of Kansas on the banks of the Missouri River," and on August 6 the expedition disbanded in St. Louis. It had occupied a period of fourteen months and had fully accomplished its object as outlined at the beginning.

Third expedition.—The third expedition left the frontier in the summer of 1845 and proceeded directly over the plains to Bent's Fort on the Arkansas, arriving August 2. A branch expedition was organized and sent out to explore the Canadian River from its source to its mouth, and the main company continued westward to Walker's Lake. The party had divided before crossing the desert and had agreed to meet at this lake in the southwestern part of the present state of Nevada. Frémont decided again to make two divisions. The main body under Kern with Walker as a guide was to move south around the mountains into California, and Frémont with a few followers crossed the Sierras at Truckee, arriving at Sutter's Fort on December 10, 1845. Having procured supplies Frémont moved south up the San Joaquin valley to meet the main division at the appointed rendezvous—"a little lake in the valley of a river called the Lake Fork of the Tulare Lake." Walker understood this to mean the Kern River Forks and Frémont those of King's River. As a result the two parties were separated until the middle of Febru-

ary, 1846, when they met about twelve miles south of San Jose. The united expedition started for the coast by way of Los Gatos and the Santa Cruz Mountains, but while camping in the Salinas valley at Hartnell's *rancho* Frémont received an order from Prefect Castro ordering him to retire beyond the boundaries of the department. Instead of complying with the order Frémont withdrew to Gavilan Peak, fortified himself and raised the American flag. It was one of those rash acts which occasionally flare up in the life of this heroic explorer and adventurer. After having been threatened by two hundred Mexican troops under the command of Castro and warned by Larkin, the American consul, Frémont withdrew to Sutter's Fort and then to the northern boundary of California.

Despatches from Washington—On May 8 while on the northern end of Klamath Lake, Frémont was overtaken by messengers who informed him that an officer of the United States government was following him with communications from Washington. Turning south he hastened forward with ten of his best men and met Lieutenant Gillespie of the marine corps from whom he obtained several despatches. In addition to these, Frémont says in his *Memoirs,* Gillespie brought a verbal message from the Secretary of State acquainting him with the change in his mission as a result of the strained relations with Mexico. He was to learn the attitude of the California people, "to conciliate their feelings in favor of the United States; and to find out, with a view to counteracting, the designs of the British Government upon that Country." He was no longer an explorer but "an officer of the American Army with further authoritative knowledge that the Government intended to take California." Until late into the night he sat by the camp fire thinking over the new situation. From what he actually read in the written communications, from what he considered had been

implied, and from his conversation with Gillespie, his conclusions were drawn. "In substance, their effect was: The time has come. England must not get a foothold. We must be first. Act; discreetly, but positively."

Change in character of third expedition.—During the night Frémont lost three of his men from an Indian attack and delayed his movements until satisfactory punishment had been inflicted upon his assailants. He then continued south through northern California, finally establishing a camp at the junction of the Bear and Feather rivers. While here he became involved in the incidents which led to the establishment of the Bear Flag republic. Truly he was no longer an explorer as far as the third expedition was concerned, and his experiences of the next few months may be omitted here. The student of Frémont's expeditions experiences disappointment upon coming in contact with the military and political life of this intrepid explorer of the West's vast spaces.

Fourth expedition.—Frémont's fourth expedition was not an official one. At his own expense he collected a company of thirty-three men and in October, 1848, crossed the plains to seek a practicable route to the Pacific through the valley of the Rio Grande. The incredible hardships experienced from cold and hunger while crossing the mountains deprived him of all his animals and a third of his men. Finding his way to Santa Fé he recruited a fresh party and pushed through to the Sacramento valley in California. Here he built a home "and for a long term of years the 'Pathfinder' was one of the most active and distinguished residents of the Pacific Coast." [12]

Later explorations.—During the years 1849 to 1850 Captain Howard Stanbury of the corps of topographi-

[12] Thwaites, *Rocky Mountain Explorations*, 242.

cal engineers led an exploring expedition across the plains by way of the Platte River to the basin of the Great Salt Lake. His report[13] is a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the country and is a source of information on the early settlement of the Mormons in that section. He returned through Bridger Pass, a depression lying between the Park Mountains and the South Pass.

Another explorer of this period was Captain Randolph B. Marcy. Four different expeditions were made by him between the years 1849 and 1852. In the first and most important of these he claims to have opened a wagon road from Fort Smith, Arkansas, to New Mexico. The route followed pretty close to the southern bank of the Canadian River, probably connecting with a well-traveled route through the opening in the mountains to Santa Fé. The return was south along the Rio Grande to Donna Anna, about a half a degree north of El Paso, thence east, crossing the Pecos River near the thirty-second parallel. From here the route ran north of east in almost a straight line to Preston on the Red River and then to Fort Smith. These routes were used by California immigrants in 1849 to 1850. Nearly if not all of Marcy's later explorations were made within the limits of the present states of Oklahoma and Texas.[14]

These constituted the most important explorations for the period under consideration and resulted in the

---

[13] Stanbury, Howard, *An Expedition to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah, etc.,* Philadelphia, 1855.

[14] Marcy, Randolph B., *The Prairie Traveler;* and from a "Map of the Country between the Frontiers of Arkansas and New Mexico Embracing the Section Explored in 1849, 1850, 1851, and 1852 by Capt. R. B. Marcy, 5th U. S. Infy. under Orders from the War Department, also a Continuation of the Emigrant Road from Fort Smith and Fulton Down the Valley of the Gila," Aackerman, N. Y.

In connection with the routes given by Marcy see Peters, Mary Eleanor, "Texas Trails" in The Mississippi Valley Historical Association *Proceedings, 1913-1914,* 55, 56.

accumulation of considerable general scientific knowledge of the country west of the Mississippi.

Bibliographical Notes

There is no satisfactory work on the material of this chapter. Reuben Gold Thwaites, *A Brief History of the Rocky Mountain Explorations,* New York, 1914, contains a fairly good general account of some of the explorations treated. References for the various expeditions are given in the footnotes. House Doc. No. 41, 30 Cong., 1st Sess., contains reports made by W. H. Emory, J. J. Abert, P. St. George Cooke and A. R. Johnston.

CHAPTER VIII

EARLY AMERICAN SETTLEMENTS OF IOWA AND MINNESOTA[1]

Gradual partition of eastern part of Louisiana purchase.—The United States government began dividing the territory of Louisiana into political units on March 26, 1804, when that part of the cession south of the thirty-third parallel was set off as Orleans Territory. At the same time all north of that parallel was formed into the District of Louisiana, and for administrative purposes was attached to Indiana Territory. On March 3, 1805, the District of Louisiana was organized as the Territory of Louisiana. In April, 1812, the Territory of Orleans was admitted into the Union as the state of Louisiana, and a little later in the same year the Territory of Louisiana became the Territory of Missouri. This organization remained undisturbed for a period of over six years. Then the people living in part of Missouri Territory applied for admission into the Union as a state. While Congress still discussed the application the Territory of Missouri was reduced by the organization of Arkansas Territory in 1819. In 1821 Missouri was admitted as a state, territorial organization lapsed, and that portion of the territory not included within the newly formed state became public domain without governmental organization of any sort. In 1834 the region north of Missouri and east of the Missouri River was annexed to Michigan Territory. Two years later the Territory of Wisconsin was organized including the region east of the Missouri

[1] The material for this chapter is taken largely from two articles written by the author for the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* in January and July, 1919.

just noted. In 1838 and in 1849 respectively were formed the Territories of Iowa and Minnesota.

Such in brief were the legislative steps from which emerged the various political units along the eastern border of the Louisiana Territory. The enactments which produced these changes in territorial organization were due to the westward moving population along the Mississippi. It is the purpose here to give a brief account of that movement into what became the states of Iowa and Minnesota.

First white settlement in Iowa; Dubuque's grant. —The best known among the early French residents of the Territory of Iowa and perhaps the first white man to settle within the present boundaries of the state was the French-Canadian, Julien Dubuque. He won favor with the chief of the Fox Indians, and in September, 1788, received from this friendly leader a claim to about one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land extending along the western bank of the Mississippi and including the site where the present city of Dubuque is located. This is said to have been the "first conveyance of Iowa soil to the whites, by the Indians."[2] Dubuque's title was later confirmed by the Governor of Louisiana Territory, Carondelet. In 1805 he and August Chouteau, to whom he had given some of the land for the purpose of canceling a debt, filed a claim with the United States for a title. The land for which this petition was made extended along the west bank of the Mississippi for a distance of twenty-one miles and was nine miles wide. The claim remained unsettled for nearly half a century. The courts finally decided, long after Dubuque and Chouteau were in their graves, that the original grant made by the Indians in 1788 and the subsequent confirmation of that grant

---

[2] Negus, "The Early History of Iowa" in *The Annals of Iowa* (First Series), V. 877. See also Gue, *History of Iowa*, I. Chapter X.

made by the Spanish Gov[illegible]r Carondelet in 1796 were both in the nature of permits or leases to mine lead on the lands described.

Dubuque had already examined the country included in the cession and had concluded that lead mining could be profitably conducted. The actual work in the mines was done by Indian women and by old men of the Fox tribe whom Dubuque employed for the purpose, but he brought ten Canadians from Prairie du Chien to assist him in superintending and directing operations.

Early agriculture.—But Dubuque did not confine himself to mining. Farms were cleared and fenced, houses were erected and a mill opened. A smelting furnace was constructed on a point now known as Dubuque Bluff. He opened a store and exchanged goods with the Indians for furs. Twice each year his boats went to St. Louis loaded with ore, furs, and hides, and returned with goods, supplies, and money. These semiannual trips became important events at St. Louis, and he was recognized as one of the largest traders in the upper Mississippi valley. For twenty-two years, until his death in 1810, Dubuque and his Canadian countrymen lived among the Indians, worked the mines and carried on trade, and his headquarters became widely known as the "Mines of Spain."

Other settlements in eighteenth century.—Two other settlements had been made within the present boundaries of the state during the period in which Dubuque was operating in the vicinity of the place which still bears his name. One of these was within the present limits of Clayton County, and was known as the Giard Tract. Basil Giard, a French-American, had received more than five thousand acres of land here in 1795 from the lieutenant-governor of Louisiana. The grant was later confirmed by the United States after that country acquired Louisiana, and the patent issued to Giard was said to have been the first legal title

to land obtained by a white man within the boundaries of the state of Iowa. Another settlement was made during this early period by Louis Honore Tesson, a French-Canadian, in 1799. Having received permission from the lieutenant-governor of Louisiana, he built a trading post in Lee County where the town of Montrose now stands. Here he planted an orchard and raised corn, potatoes, and other products for several years. His heirs received a confirmation of the grant from the United States in 1839.

Lead mining and squatter settlements.—After Dubuque's death the Indians expelled the whites and took possession of the mines, evidently working them at intervals during the next twenty years. In the latter part of the third decade of the nineteenth century the lead mines in northern Illinois and in southwestern Wisconsin attracted settlers by the thousands.[3] Among these enthusiasts was a New Englander by the name of James L. Langworthy. Having explored the old "Mines of Spain" he brought a company of operators to the west bank of the Mississippi in 1830, and again the white men began to smelt lead ore in the land once claimed by Dubuque. The new mining camp soon attracted settlers from the east bank of the Mississippi. The settlement of these squatters west of the river was in violation of the treaty compacts between the United States and the Indian tribes, and the government was soon requested to remove the intruders. Accordingly troops were sent over in 1831, the settlers were driven back to the east bank of the river, and a detachment was left at the mines to protect the Indians against further intrusion.

Settlements in the Black Hawk purchase.—In 1832 the Black Hawk purchase was concluded. By this the

[3] For a brief summary of lead mining in this region see Thwaites, *Early Lead-Mining in Illinois and Wisconsin* in the American Historical Association *Annual Report*, 1893, 191-196.

United States secured from the Indians the cession of a strip of territory about fifty miles wide extending along the western bank of the Mississippi from the northern boundary of Missouri to the vicinity of a parallel running through Prairie du Chien. The acquisition of this territory marks the real beginning of white settlements in Iowa. Not until several years later, however, when land sales were held, were the occupants able to procure actual title to the soil, but the mere absence of a title was not enough to check the advance of the frontiersmen. They came in large numbers, selecting the most advantageous sites along the rivers which flowed into the Mississippi. Burlington, Sandusky, and Fort Madison were occupied by white settlers during 1833. Into the Indian village of "Puck-e-she-tuk" whites had come as early as 1830. A school had been established there by 1833, possibly three years earlier. In 1835 the name was changed to Keokuk.[4] The strip included in the purchase had been divided into two counties. The territory north of the Iowa River was organized as Dubuque County, while the part of the purchase south of that stream was known as Des Moines County.

A furrow as a guide.—By the spring of 1836 the frontier had been extended to Round Prairie in Jefferson County. During that same year pioneers were exploring the valley of the Iowa River, selecting claims and building cabins. During the following year they brought their families and induced others to migrate with them from Indiana into this remote western country. In 1839 Iowa City was laid out and became the capital of the newly created territory. To guide immigrants who were moving west and to encourage

[4] There is reason to believe that trading posts or settlements had been established at Sandusky, Burlington, and Fort Madison by 1820. *See* Campbell's "Recollections of the Early Settlement of Lee County" in *The Annals of Iowa* (First Series), V. 883, 884.

them to move into the territorial capital, one Lyman Dillion was employed to plow a furrow between Iowa City and Dubuque, a distance of a hundred miles.[5] By the beginning of 1840 twenty families had settled at the former place.

The population of Iowa, in 1836, was estimated at 10,531 and the number had increased to 22,859 by 1838. By 1840, according to the census of that year, there were more than 43,000 people living in the territory.[6] This means that from 1836 to 1840 the population practically doubled every two years—in fact it more than doubled in the first two. A glance at the census map showing the population of the United States in 1840 indicates that the southern part of the Black Hawk purchase had been pretty completely occupied, and that the frontier line of settlement approached the Mississippi as it extended northward from Missouri's northern boundary, finally touching that river in the vicinity of the forty-third parallel.

Iowa well advertised.—This rapid growth was due in part doubtless to the advertising which Iowa received in the public press. In March, 1839, a correspondent in the *Buffalo Journal* had declared:

> Taking into consideration the soil, the timber, the water, and the climate, Iowa territory may be considered the best part of the Mississippi valley. The Indians so consider it, as appears from the name which they gave it. For it is said that the Sioux (Sac) and Fox Indians, on beholding the exceeding beauties of this region, held up their hands, and exclaimed in an ecstasy of delight and amazement,

---

[5] *The Annals of Iowa* (First Series), VI. 107.

[6] Gue, *History of Iowa,* I. 185; Niles' *Register,* LIX. 40. The population by counties is given as follows: Clayton, 1945; Delaware, 171; Dubuque, 3056; Jackson, 1432; Jones, 475; Clinton, 800; Linn, 1385; Scott, 2193; Muscatine, 1042; Cedar, 1225; Johnson, 1504; Louisa, 1925; Washington, 1572; Henry, 3782; Jefferson, 2780; Van Buren, 6030; Lee, 6096; Des Moines, 5646; attached to Van Buren, 136. For the population of Iowa in 1836 *see* Albach's *Annals of the West* (Second Edition), 802.

"I-O-W-A," which in the Fox language means, "this is the land." [7]

On June 29, 1839, it was reported in *Niles' Register* that one of the citizens of Cincinnati had just returned from a tour of Iowa and had stated that the prospects for an exceptional harvest were the best he had ever seen anywhere.

> He spoke to us particularly of one field of wheat, which he saw on the prairies, consisting of six hundred and forty acres, which was a perfect level, so that it could be taken into one view, and was handsomely fenced; the stalks were then two feet and a half high, and the growth most luxuriant. We would go a day's ride to see such a field of wheat as that.[8]

During the fall of this same year the public land sales in Iowa City alone were at the rate of about five thousand dollars a day. Those lots fronting the public square where the State House was to be erected brought from four to six hundred dollars each. In Burlington the proceeds of the first four days of the sale in 1840 amounted to nearly seventy-six thousand dollars. The *Chillicothe (Ohio) Gazette* reported in May, 1840, that between one and two hundred people were leaving that city to settle "near the center of what will probably be the capital of Iowa, at the head of navigation on the Des Moines river." The *Burlington Gazette* in the fall of 1840 stated that "the health of Iowa territory is, thus far this season, universally good. The crops of wheat, rye and oats have been as abundant as usual, and the crop of corn will be very large."

Indian land cessions.—These comments with scores of others like them played no small part in directing the attention of homeseekers to Iowa. As the number of immigrants increased in the Black Hawk purchase

---

[7] Quoted in Niles' *Register*, LVI. 48.
[8] *Ibid.*, LVI. 277.

and as the pressure of white settlers against the Indian territory along the western border of this strip became greater, it proved necessary to draw up additional treaties with the Indians in order to open more territory to the covetous frontiersmen. In 1837 and again in 1842 treaties were concluded with the Sac and Fox Indians by which the entire central and south-central parts of Iowa were thrown open to white settlers, except a strip about sixty-five or seventy miles wide along the western border of the territory.[9] By the terms of the latter treaty the Indians were given until the first of May, 1843, to yield possession of the eastern half of the cession, and three years in which to surrender the western half.

The opening of 1843.—This condition did not prevent the Americans from exploring the country during the interval, but army officers patroled the territory to check any attempt which the former might make to run lines or to mark off claims. The new acquisition was well known to the frontiersmen therefore when on April 30, 1843, men who had gathered along the border of the unoccupied Indian country waited and listened for the discharge of fire arms which would announce the hour of midnight and the time that formally opened the land to settlers. Between midnight of April 30 and sundown of May 1, it is said that at least a thousand settlers staked their claims within the boundaries of Wapello County alone. Ottumwa on the Des Moines was surveyed at once, and about four hundred lots were laid out. Eddyville, Agency City, and Dahlonega also sprang up over night as it were. Not only was the land along the rivers taken up by these immigrants, but they began to occupy the intervening spaces between the streams. Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, and

[9] Royce, "Indian Land Cessions in the United States" in the *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,* Part II, 766, 767, 778, 779.

Missouri furnished most of the population, but there were settlers who came from Wisconsin, Virginia, and Pennsylvania.

Protection against Indian depredations.—In order to protect the occupants from Indian depredations and to prevent the encroachment of the whites on Indian lands, Fort Des Moines was built in 1843 near the frontier. The rapid influx of settlers produced increasing dissatisfaction among the red men along the border as a result of which, six years later, Fort Clark was erected farther west on the Des Moines River. The name was later changed to Fort Dodge, and in 1853 the troops were moved from Fort Dodge still farther north to Fort Ridgely on the Minnesota River. During the following year the town of Fort Dodge was laid out and became the distributing center for northwestern Iowa.

Call of constitutional convention.—As the population increased the desire for a change in the existing government became more evident. The territorial organization which had been made in 1838 no longer satisfied the ambitions of many citizens. Consequently an act was passed on July 31, 1840, calling for a vote of the people on the question of a constitutional convention. The proposition was defeated in August following. The question was submitted again in 1842 and was again defeated. The objection to the proposal was based apparently on the unnecessary expense which would result from a change in the existing government. A state government would cost more and the total operating expense would fall on the people of Iowa. Under the territorial form the United States government would provide the administrative machinery. But the advocates of statehood were persistent and on February 12, 1844, the legislature passed an act providing for a constitutional convention. In April this action was approved by a majority of the

qualified electors of the territory.[10] The convention met and adopted a constitution which was submitted to Congress by the territorial delegates.

Constitution before Congress.—The congressional Committee on Territories presented a bill proposing the simultaneous admission of both Iowa and Florida. An amendment was suggested immediately which would change the boundaries of Iowa and reduce the area of the proposed state considerably. This provoked heated discussion and brought out some interesting opinions as to the real position which the West should assume in developing and maintaining nationalism. The idea was presented clearly and forcibly by Vinton of Ohio.

The West and Nationalism.—He advocated the admission of Iowa with reduced limits, and he resented the former attitude of Congress which had insisted on organizing western states with such extensive boundaries that that section would be irrevocably deprived of its share in national legislation. This was a mistaken view. The interest of the national government demanded a larger representation from the West than had been possible under former conditions. Indeed, no other section of the country could be trusted so completely with the general interest of the nation. The geographical position and commercial dependence of the West united it with both the East and the South. New York, Philadelphia, and New Orleans were western harbors. These conditions would make the West an impartial umpire in any conflict between the East and the South. The people of the Mississippi valley, no matter whence they came, would always be conservative. This would not be because they possessed greater patriotism or superior virtue, but simply be-

[10] James, James A., "National Politics and the Admission of Iowa into the Union" in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1897, 163-173.

cause their position would force them into this attitude. To them dissension would spell ruin. They could be depended upon, therefore, to oppose all elements of secession. Massachusetts and South Carolina might possibly "find a dividing line that would be mutually satisfactory to them, but, sir, they can find no such line to which the Western country can assent. . . . Lay down the map of the country before you; look, sir, at the wonderful network uniting the West with the North and the South and then let any Northern or Southern man tell me where he would begin the work of its destruction." [11]

These arguments may have had little weight in influencing the vote of members of Congress, but they expressed an appreciation of western nationalism which has generally characterized that section. Had the principle been adopted of building states from smaller areas, the influence of the West on national legislation would have been much stronger than it has been.

Constitution defeated.—In this case Congress accepted the amendment and the constitution of Iowa, with the boundaries which it had proposed restricted by Congress, was sent back to the people of that territory. A heated discussion among the political leaders of Iowa immediately began. The constitution was attacked for other reasons than the amended boundaries which Congress had written into it. The opposition came largely from the Whigs who were opposed to statehood. They were in the minority and held none of the offices, nor could they expect to secure political recognition under a state government. Besides the constitution placed heavy restrictions on corporations and banks and provided for the election of many officials instead of their appointment. The Democratic

[11] Quoted *ibid.*, 166, 167.

officeholders and the press favored the acceptance of the constitution, even with the restricted boundaries, but there were some Democrats who joined the opposing Whigs. The split within the Democratic party was due to the Congressional amendment. They wanted the state of Iowa with the boundaries which had been drawn in the constitution they submitted to Congress and not Iowa with the restricted limits provided by Congress. In the election held in April, 1845, the constitution was defeated. The Democratic leaders would not admit defeat. A bill providing for the resubmission of the constitution in its original form passed the legislature, but apparently the voters were not satisfied. In the August election the original draft was defeated.

Admission of Iowa.—State advocates refused to surrender, and the territorial governor in a message to the assembly pledged his hearty coöperation in any move that would help bring Iowa into the Union. On January 17, 1846, an act was passed which provided for the election of delegates to a constitutional convention. Delegates were elected and met on May 4. A new constitution was drafted after a short session. With few exceptions it was a copy of the original constitution. The northern boundary was fixed at 43 degrees and 30 minutes north latitude, but the western boundary was maintained along the Missouri as provided in the constitution of 1844. Another clause in the constitution forbade the establishment of banks and roused strenuous opposition among the Whigs in Congress, but it was finally accepted by that body. On December 28, 1846, Iowa Territory was declared to be one of the states of the Union.

Mormon settlements. — Meanwhile settlers continued to come in increasing numbers. In the spring of 1846 the Mormons were compelled to leave Nauvoo.

During their westward migration through southern Iowa many of them stopped within that territory and erected homes. Settlements were made at Garden Grove in the northeastern part of Decatur County, near Osceola in Clark County, in the eastern part of Union County, in the southwestern part of Cass County, and in the southern part of Mills County. But the principal Mormon settlement was near Council Bluffs. These thrifty people thus made generous contributions to the settlement of the country in southwestern Iowa. Other settlers had moved into this section by 1847, and with the great overland immigration through southern Iowa to California in 1849 and in 1850, Kanesville (Council Bluffs) became a typical frontier town like Weston and Independence in Missouri.

The Dutch immigrants.—Iowa never attracted foreigners in the same proportions as did Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, but in 1847 there came to Marion County a company of earnest and thrifty Hollanders who made no small contribution to the intelligence and industry of the state. About a thousand of them had left Holland under the direction of Henry Peter Scholte. From New York they had gone west to St. Louis and here Scholte left them while he set out accompanied by a chosen committee to select a home for his colony in Iowa. Land was offered them in Lee County but the title appeared doubtful and Scholte decided to seek advice from the agent of the United States land office at Fairfield in Jefferson County. After carefully investigating the selections to which his attention had been directed Scholte persuaded his companions to agree to buy from pioneers who had not completed payments on their claims and who did not therefore have clear titles.

A location selected.—While Scholte busily examined the maps of the land office in Fairfield other members of the committee were investigating the coun-

try in that vicinity. Finally upon the recommendation of a Baptist missionary whom they met by chance the committee decided to investigate lands on the frontier about seventy miles west of Fairfield. On July 29, 1847, the missionary acting as guide conducted the company into the section located in the northeastern part of what is now Marion County. So well pleased were they with the country and with the terms which they were able to make that deals were closed immediately with several pioneers living in the vicinity of the present town of Pella and south along the Des Moines River. Having purchased the land and completed other arrangements for accommodating the company the committee returned to St. Louis where their friends were awaiting their report.

Arrival of the immigrants.—When the five committeemen made a report to their comrades in that city nearly all of them were eager to move northward immediately. Some of the members of the company, however, had secured profitable employment in St. Louis and it was decided to have them continue at their work temporarily while the others went ahead and prepared homes. About five or six hundred of the party, having provided themselves with an adequate supply of food and clothing, took passage on a Mississippi River steamer and arrived at Keokuk within two days. Horses, wagons, and other things essential for an overland journey were purchased, and the company proceeded up the Des Moines valley, arriving at their destination in August, 1847. Scholte had made a contract with some Americans for the construction of fifty log cabins and for the delivery of some lumber, all of which was to have been attended to before the company's arrival, but these things had not been done. The Hollanders were keenly disappointed, for they had hoped to find at least the materials for their homes.

Imagine a number of bakers, tailors and shoemakers, painters, office clerks, business managers, and such like [exclaims their historian], who had all their lives been used to the city life of Europe—some of whom hardly knew what a cow or pig looked like, nor had the slightest knowledge of farm implements; who had left neat and comfortable homes and had never known or seen others—imagine such people suddenly transplanted to an open prairie, with here and there some timber, seeing nothing but grass, trees and sky, and finding no protection against the elements! . . . It takes but a few lines to tell it, but to live it is something wholly different.[12]

Building a town.—Despite such a discouraging beginning the company proceeded at once to lay out a town which they called Pella, and to construct temporary dwellings to shelter them while they selected their lands, prepared to till the soil, and to build more substantial homes. The streets of Pella—"Strooijen Stad" or Straw Town as it was called—were given such names as Extension, Addition, Washington, Franklin, Columbus, Liberty, Union, and Independence; while the avenues were called Perseverance, Inquiring, Reformation, Gratitude, Patience, Experience, Confidence, Expectation, and Accomplishment. In a few years these streets and avenues were lined with rows of simple wooden houses interspersed with a few dwellings of red brick, and the eighteen thousand acres of fertile land which Scholte had selected were converted into profitable farms on which the owners had constructed comfortable homes. Wild fruits grew in abundance in the woods, and on their farms the Hollanders raised good crops of Indian corn, flax, wheat, buckwheat, and vegetables. From their cows which were provided with shelter during the long winter, contrary to the custom of the American frontiersmen, the Dutch obtained generous quantities of rich milk and made more

[12] Quoted in Van der Zee, *The Hollanders of Iowa*, 68.

than enough butter and cheese to supply their own needs. In fact "Iowa cheese" which was shipped by these thrifty farmers became famous in the St. Louis market.

Irish and Germans.—Irish and German immigrants formed settlements south of the Hollanders, the former occupying fertile lands in the western part of Monroe County and the latter selecting what was considered a barren country on Coal Creek, sometimes called the Dutch Ridge. The Irish on account of their poverty were compelled to make their meager resources yield the largest possible returns, and by selecting fertile lands were soon living in comfort. The Germans, although in possession of sufficient funds to pay for the best in the country, selected the ridge lands which were covered with white oaks and dense undergrowth where they too established a prosperous community and lived a comparatively isolated political life.

Settled area of Iowa in 1850.—The United States census reports show that nearly one hundred and fifty thousand people moved into Iowa during the decade ending in 1850. These immigrants, as shown by the maps accompanying the reports, had occupied the eastern and southern parts of the state, with the exception of a very small area in the extreme northeastern corner and a circle around the present town of Quincy near the center of Adams County in the southwest. The entire northern and northwestern parts of the state were still unoccupied. The decade beginning in 1850 was to witness a migrating tide which was to sweep over the waste places of the state and to inundate the valleys and hills with more than sufficient human energy to build up a commonwealth of the first rank.

Reasons for rapid growth after 1850.—There were several things which encouraged migration during this period. Railroad lines had been completed to the Mississippi and so the eastern border of Iowa was easily reached. It was during this decade also that the rail-

roads began advertising western lands. Land speculators and land companies offered inducements which appeared most alluring to the land-hungry men of the more densely populated areas farther east. Guides for emigrants were published in great quantities, and articles "containing glowing accounts of the beauty, advantages, and fertility of the Iowa country appeared in hundreds of Eastern newspapers until the name 'Iowa' became a household word; and those who were so fortunate as already to own a home in that far-famed State wrote enthusiastic letters to their relatives and former neighbors urging them to come and share in their prosperity."[13]

Great number of immigrants.—These inducements combined with a fatal epidemic of cholera in the middle states and a severe drought throughout the Ohio valley during the summer of 1854 brought homeseekers to Iowa by the thousands, particularly during the years 1854 to 1856.

> The immigration into Iowa the present season is astonishing and unprecedented. For miles and miles, day after day, the prairies of Illinois are lined with cattle and wagons, pushing on toward this prosperous State. At a point beyond Peoria, during a single month, seventeen hundred and forty-three wagons had passed, and all for Iowa. Allowing five persons to a wagon, which is a fair average, would give 8,715 souls to the population.

An Iowa City editor, commenting on this, added:

> This being but the immigration of the month, and upon one route only out of many, it would not be an unreasonable assertion to say that 50,000 men, women, and children will have come into this State by the first of December, reckoning from the first of September.[14]

[13] Clark, "The Westward Movement in the Upper Mississippi Valley During the Fifties" in the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings*, 1913-1914, 215.

[14] *Ibid.*, 216.

Ferries unable to handle crowds.—During the fall and early winter of 1854 there was an almost uninterrupted procession of immigrants crossing the ferries at Prairie du Chien, Dubuque, Burlington, Davenport, and Keokuk. Sometimes they had to wait in camp two or three days for their turn to cross. It was estimated that twenty thousand people crossed the ferry at Burlington in thirty days, and at the end of that period the number increased to six or seven hundred a day. About one wagon in a hundred was marked Nebraska, the others were to halt in Iowa. And even at Keokuk such large numbers of settlers came in by boat that a journalist was led to say that "by the side of this exodus, that of the Israelites becomes an insignificant item, and the greater migrations of later times are scarcely to be mentioned." It was said that one thousand people from Richmond County, Ohio, alone, came to Iowa that fall; while long double-header trains brought into Chicago thousands of homeseekers every week.

A westward moving frontier.—These people came into Iowa by the hundreds of thousands during the years following 1850. The majority passed on through the settled area to the frontier; others moved into the intervening spaces between the older settlements; and a few bought improved lands, thus freeing the original owners who themselves joined the canvas-covered trains that were traveling toward the West. In May, 1855, the first settlement was made in Palo Alto County near the present town of West Bend. The immigrants came in ox wagons from Benton County through the frontier settlements along the trail from Fort Dodge known as the military road. The soldiers had passed over the route when they moved from Fort Dodge to Fort Ridgely, and subsequent supply wagons had left their marks on the prairie grass. About a year later, in the summer of 1856, a settlement of about forty people was made in the vicinity of Spirit Lake near the

northern border of the state. Other settlements were established farther west in Woodbury, in Cherokee, and in Clay Counties before 1857. During the year 1856 a colony of seven Irish families from Kane County, Illinois, made settlements about two miles northwest of the present city of Emmetsburg, and in a short time they were joined by many of their countrymen. Just east along the Des Moines settlers had already located (1855) at Dakota City in Humboldt County, at Algona farther north, and at Bancroft in Kossuth County. Scattered settlements might be found at Smithland and at other places in the valley of the Little Sioux.

Summary of Iowa's growth in population.—This growth will be appreciated more fully from a summary. We have seen that the population in 1836 was estimated at 10,531, and that this number had increased to 22,859 in 1838. The census of 1840 gives the territory a population of 43,112. Ten years later there were 192,214 inhabitants in Iowa. This gives the average annual number of immigrants during the period from 1840 to 1850 at a little less than 15,000. Such rapid growth in the territory's population during these ten years produced an almost constant shifting of the frontier line. In 1840 the frontier followed approximately a line running through Ottumwa and Iowa City, finally touching the Mississippi in the vicinity of the present town of Guttenberg. By 1850 it had moved out toward the center of the state. If a line were drawn from the southwest to the northeast corner there would be tongues of settlement west and north of that line in the Missouri and Des Moines valleys, and there would be unsettled areas east and south of the line in the vicinity of modern Quincy, Marshalltown, and Oelwein. But the settled area west and north of such a line would hardly fill the unsettled parts east and south of it. In 1840 the territory had contained but eighteen counties; in 1850 the state had forty-nine.

Lumbering in Wisconsin and Minnesota.—The First Americans to follow the fur traders into northwestern Wisconsin and into northeastern Minnesota were the lumbermen. They had begun to establish themselves at advantageous places along the streams of the north at a very early period. Colonel John Shaw had built a sawmill on Black River as early as 1819. In 1822 another was constructed on a branch of the Chippewa River by a man named Hardin Perkins from Kentucky. A treaty concluded with the Menominee Indians in 1836 opened a strip six miles wide and forty miles long to the lumbermen on the upper Wisconsin, and was followed by the construction of a number of mills in that section.[15] Wausau later became a center for the lumbermen of the region. A treaty made with the Chippewa and Sioux Indians in 1838 opened the St. Croix valley to the lumbermen. Mills were erected at St. Croix Falls, at Marine, at Point Douglas, at Lakeland, and at Osceola;[16] and the lumbermen, assisted by the fur traders, discouraged the more permanent settlers. In fact some of the lumbermen even at a later period sent petitions to the government praying that their pursuits be not interfered with until the land should be brought into the market.[17] Like the fur traders, the lumbering interests were opposed to the agricultural settlements.

Mormons in upper Mississippi valley.—One of the most interesting of the early enterprises of this section, because of its connection with a people who were attracting considerable attention along the frontier at this

---

[15] Wisconsin Historical *Collections*, II. 132; III. 438. These lands were purchased from the Menominee Indians by the United States and surveyed by the government evidently after they had been occupied by Americans. *Interior Department Lands*, L. B. (manuscript), I. 122.

[16] Folsom, "History of Lumbering in the St. Croix Valley, with Biographic Sketches" in the Minnesota Historical Society, *Collections*, IX. 291-324.

[17] *Interior Department Lands*, L. B. (manuscript), I. 181.

time, was that conducted by the Mormons above the falls of the Black River. After these people had moved to Nauvoo they determined to build a Mormon temple and a Nauvoo house that would do credit to the religion which they had accepted. To procure material for the work they purchased mills in Wisconsin estimated by one of their number to be worth twenty thousand dollars. As many as one hundred and fifty men were employed at times in the service of the Mormons, and during the summer of 1843 they sent to Nauvoo a large amount of hewed timber and about two hundred thousand feet of sawed timber. The lumber sent down was used for other purposes than those originally intended, and the difficulties in which the Mormons soon found themselves offered opportunities for unscrupulous members of their own sect to appropriate property which belonged to the community. The mill was sold for a few thousand feet of lumber about the time of the death of Joseph Smith.[18]

Early towns.—A census said to have been taken in 1845 gave to northwestern Wisconsin and to that part of the present state of Minnesota lying between the St. Croix and Mississippi rivers a population of fourteen hundred and nineteen. Until in comparatively recent times, in fact, the lumbermen dominated that territory and such towns as developed first were essentially centers of lumbering interests. Settlers first appeared in this section along the Mississippi and the St. Croix rivers. Hudson, under the name of Buena Vista, and later of Willow River, was laid out in 1848. Settle-

[18] Historical Society of Southern California *Publications,* 1917, 86-171. Under the title of "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," by H. W. Mills, are published the fragments of a diary and a number of letters written by George Miller. Miller was a prominent member of the Mormon Church at Nauvoo, and was the member of that organization who had charge of the Wisconsin lumbering enterprise during the early forties. He was intimate with Joseph Smith and may have had ambitions to succeed the latter as head of the Mormons.

ments were made in La Crosse County as early as 1841, but very few immigrants came before 1850. The town of La Crosse was settled during the latter year. In the same year settlements were made farther east in the vicinity of Sparta. Indian villages, which in 1840 were scattered along the Mississippi and the St. Croix rivers northward from Prairie du Chien, were replaced in a few years by the thriving towns or cities of Lansing in Iowa, Prairie la Crosse, Prescott, and Hudson in Wisconsin, and by Winona, Red Wing, and Stillwater in Minnesota. Farther east near the central part of the state settlers began to occupy the country around New London. Northport, Hortonville, Iola, Ogdensburg, Scandinavia, Waupaca, and Shiocton were settled in the early fifties. Many of these settlers were interested in farming.

Early missionary settlements.—American settlers had come at an earlier period to the extreme western end of Lake Superior around Fond du Lac, Minnesota. In 1832 the American Board of Foreign Missions established stations on the lake and erected a school among the Indians of Sandy Lake. Two years later the station was moved to Fond du Lac, a village which was at first located in Wisconsin Territory but later was moved to the Minnesota side. The early settlers of St. Paul looked upon it as the lake port for Minnesota and therefore a place of considerable importance.[19] The school was under the direction of Edmund Franklin Ely. After the Indian titles to lands around the head of the lake were extinguished in 1854 and 1855, Ely became one of the founders of Superior where he was joined by a number of ambitious "hustlers" from St. Paul who made Superior one of the thriving centers

[19] Carey, "History of Duluth, and of St. Louis County, to the Year 1870," in the Minnesota Historical Society, *Collections*, IX. 241-278, 292. See also Neill, *The History of Minnesota; from the Earliest French Explorations to the Present Time*. 432. Neill gives 1833 as the year in which Ely opened the school at Fond du Lac.

of the lake region. Later Ely moved across the St. Louis River and became one of the first settlers of Oneota, Minnesota. Here he built a steam mill and docks, and for six years served as postmaster. Some of these early immigrants moved eastward along the north shore of the lake and settled at Beaver Bay which was incorporated in 1857.

Extension of lumbering industry.—The demand for pine lumber created by the great influx into the lead region and the surrounding country and by the Indian treaties ratified in 1838 which opened to settlement the section between the Mississippi and the St. Croix rivers, brought eager lumbermen from Wisconsin, anxious to establish their industry in the new territory. Operations were begun along the west bank of the St. Croix as already indicated, but as the number of mills increased pioneer lumbermen began to move farther west. Until after 1851 the Indian treaties of 1838 confined the industrial activities of the whites to the territory east of the Mississippi and south of the forty-sixth parallel. The first explorations, therefore, were made along the tributaries on that side of the river. The Rum River valley had been explored before 1848 and found to contain a large amount of excellent timber. A mill erected at the Falls of St. Anthony began operations in 1848, securing its supply principally from this region. In fact it was reported that preparations had been made for cutting and manufacturing from thirty to forty million feet of lumber from the public lands of Minnesota before 1855.

Of the thousands of immigrants who took part in the westward movement of 1848 and 1849 "some learned wisdom," according to one patriotic chronicler, and stopped in Minnesota. The number was sufficiently large to create a great demand for lumber at the Falls of St. Anthony and at St. Paul. The mill at the former place worked day and night in its attempt to supply the

needs of the immediate community, and even then it was found necessary to have lumber shipped from mills at Stillwater in order to provide all that was necessary. Very soon, however, additional mills were constructed farther up the Mississippi and along the banks of its tributaries at Anoka, Centerville, St. Francis, Princeton, Monticello, St. Cloud, and Little Falls. Lumbering towns came into existence only to pass into oblivion when the industry which supported them ceased to operate, but the amount of the lumber cut increased down to the end of the century.[20] Some of the lumbering centers have retained their importance to the present time.

St. Anthony and St. Paul.—As soon as the mill was completed at the falls, the village of St. Anthony became a busy center. From the first it was an ambitious rival of St. Paul, which was located about six or eight miles by stage farther down the river. The former owed its advantage to its favorable location for the establishment of sawmills, the latter to its position at the head of steam navigation on the Mississippi. By 1854 St. Anthony had become "a cheerful, pretty place, clean and well built, containing about 2500 inhabitants." The attractiveness of the scenery around the village, the location of the university there, and the "comfortable and civilized aspect of the town" had marked it as a fashionable summer resort, but along the river bank "sawmills, foundries, shingle machines, lath factories, and other industries testified to the spirit of the community.[21] In St. Paul at the same period were

---

[20] Minnesota Historical Society, *Collections,* IX. 326-362. During the three years including the period from 1848 to 1850 twelve million feet of lumber were cut by mills in this section. From 1851 to 1860 there had been more than three hundred and fifteen million feet cut, and this was increased each decade through the century. During the nine years from 1891 to 1899 more than four billion, four hundred million feet were sawed.

[21] Oliphant, *Minnesota and the Far West,* 236, 244, 245. A steamer of light draught had been launched above the Falls of St. Anthony and had

"four or five hotels, and at least half a dozen handsome churches, with tall spires pointing heavenward, and sundry meeting-houses, and a population of seven or eight thousand to go with them, and good streets with sidewalks, and lofty brick warehouses, and stores and shops, as well supplied as any in the Union; and 'an academy of the highest grade for young ladies'; and wharves at which upwards of three hundred steamers arrive annually, bringing new settlers to this favored land, and carrying away its produce to the south and east." As in most western communities there was apparent here both industrial and educational vision.

Advertising as a factor.—Advertising was a potent factor in bringing settlers into Minnesota during the early years of its history just as it had been a stimulus to a similar movement into Iowa. On May 24, 1849, Thomas Ewing, Secretary of the Interior, directed that all advertisements of land sales in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota should be published in the *Correspondent* of Chillicothe, Ohio, in the *Schnellpost* of New York City, and in the *Telegraph* of Buffalo, New York.[22] Upon request he had notices of land sales placed in the *Minnesota Pioneer,* published at St. Paul. That Ewing personally had a high opinion of the value of the lands under consideration, particularly those in Wisconsin, is evident from his own statement. A little later (August 11, 1852) a proclamation announcing land sales in Minnesota appeared in the *Register,* published in Middlebury, Vermont.

Extension of settlements.—In the meantime farmers had pushed up north of St. Anthony's Falls and had made settlements along the banks of the Mississippi and its important branches. The Rum River country had

navigated the stream—a distance of about eighty miles—to the Sauk Rapids.

[22] *Interior Department Lands,* L. B. (manuscript), I. 23.

been occupied by industrious Germans, and homes were found scattered at intervals along the Mississippi up to the vicinity of Crow Wing. Even free negroes petitioned for a share of the fertile lands in this far-off territory.[23] Permanent settlers had increased in numbers on the banks of the St. Croix River; and in the northwest corner of the territory, on the site of Lord Selkirk's experiment, farmers were raising wheat. But the place to which the early Minnesota booster pointed with greatest pride, the place which was referred to as "the prettiest country lying wild that the world can boast of, got up with greatest care and effort by old dame Nature ten thousand years or more ago, and which she has been improving ever since," was the country along the Minnesota River. The fertile land along this navigable stream and its tributaries was the goal of many an early immigrant. It was doubtless this region which Colonel James M. Goodhue, editor of the *Minnesota Pioneer,* had in mind when he said:

> We will give Illinois May the start, and Minnesota shall come out ahead. Don't care what the crop is—any grain, any root—anything from a castor bean, or an apple or a pear tree, or a pumpkin, to a sweet potato or a tobacco plant. Why, sucker, do you know you have frosts about two weeks earlier in Illinois than we do here? It is a fact! We will show these people *sights* who come up here in May, and go shivering back home, saying that Minnesota is "too cold for crops."

Early towns in Minnesota valley.—By 1854 there had been founded along the banks of this stream the towns of Shakopee, Le Sueur, Traverse des Sioux, Kasota, Mankato, and Henderson, all "thriving cities,"

[23] On November 18, 1856, Robert McClelland, Secretary of the Interior, wrote Isaiah Lawrence, a free negro, that there was nothing in the laws of the United States to prevent him as a free man of African descent from settling upon public lands in Minnesota and acquiring the right of preemption. *Interior Department Lands,* L. B. (manuscript), III. 347.

containing from one to fifty log houses, "but with imaginary public buildings, squares and streets enough for a moderately sized empire." [24] Yet post offices had been established in every one of these towns, and in many others along the banks of the Minnesota, the Mississippi, and the St. Croix rivers. There were at least forty-six in Minnesota Territory in 1854.[25]

Early post offices.—According to Eli Bowen as early as 1851 nineteen or more post offices had been established in Minnesota with fairly well-defined mail routes extending into remote parts of the territory, and arrangements had been made for deliveries at intervals varying from once or twice a week to "according to opportunity." [26] Mail passed from Sauk Rapids to Pembina under the latter scheme for instance, but from Swan River the mail was scheduled to leave for Pembina by way of Long Prairie on the first day of each month. There was another monthly route from Mendota via "Little Rapids, Traverse des Sioux, and Little Rock to Lac qui Parle." Between St. Paul and Fort Gaines by way of St. Anthony's Falls, Sauk Rapids, and the mouth of Swan River, the mails were scheduled once in every two weeks, and there were several weekly deliveries between points along the Mississippi and the St. Croix rivers.

Population.—In January, 1849, St. Paul was a village containing about a dozen buildings and about one hundred and fifty inhabitants; by the first of July following, it is described as having one hundred and forty-two houses and eight hundred and forty people. The

---

[24] Oliphant, *Minnesota and the Far West*, 258.

[25] Rode, *The United States Post-Office Directory and Postal Guide.*

[26] Bowen, *The United States Post-Office Guide*, 174, 300. There is another volume: *Table of Post-Offices in the United States on the First Day of January, 1851, Arranged in Alphabetical Order and Exhibiting the States, Territories, and Counties in which they are Situated, with the Names of the Postmasters; also an Appendix Containing a List of the Post-Offices Arranged by States and Counties, to Which is Added a List of Offices Established, Changed. or Discontinued to May 31.*

population is said to have increased from eight hundred and forty during the summer of 1849 to seven or eight thousand in 1854.

When Minnesota was organized as a territory in 1849 it contained an estimated population of between four and five thousand. A year later, according to the United States census of 1850, there were 6,077. This increased to an estimated population of 140,000 in 1854, and 150,000 in 1857. The Federal census of 1860 gives the state a population of 172,023.

Foreigners in Minnesota.—In Minnesota the two thousand and forty-eight foreigners constituted a little more than a third of the territory's population in 1850. Of these the largest number, 1,417, came from Canada, but there were Irish, Germans, and English, and a few representatives from Scotland, France, Holland, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, and the other nations of the earth. These, with the other foreigners, had settled for the most part in the rural districts rather than in the cities and constituted a valuable part of the citizenry of the commonwealth.

In conclusion it may be said that the population in Iowa and in Minnesota was drawn from varied sources. The people had come from many nations of the world and from various parts of the Union. The census reports of 1850 show that there were people from all the states of the Union except Florida, Mississippi, and Texas. To be sure the representation from the southern states was small compared with that from the northern section, and even in the North some States had much larger representation than others. In Minnesota there were in 1850, 488 people from New York and 655 from New England, 365 of whom came from Maine. These Americans and their foreign neighbors, opening for cultivation the fertile regions on the plains and in the valleys of the Mississippi and the St. Croix and their principal tributaries, building their mills in the rich

pineries of the north, erecting their homes and their churches, and making liberal provisions for their educational institutions, were the founders of the present states of Iowa and Minnesota.

Bibliographical Notes

American Settlements: There is very little satisfactory material on the settlement of Iowa and Minnesota which is accessible to the general reader. The best source of information is to be found in the publications of the Historical Societies of these states and in the local histories. Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa from the Earliest Times to the beginning of the Twentieth Century,* 4 vols., New York (copyright, 1903), is the most comprehensive on Iowa. Other helpful works are W. J. J. Harsha, *The Story of Iowa,* Omaha, 1890; James Alton James, *Constitution and Admission of Iowa into the Union,* Baltimore, 1900 (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XVII, No. 7); Benjamin F. Shambaugh (editor), *Iowa Biographical Series,* Iowa City, 1907-; Benjamin F. Shambaugh (editor), *Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa,* 3 vols. Volume I contains reprints of important documents on the entire Louisiana purchase, each preceded by a bibliography and references. Volumes II and III pertain to the early local government of the Northwest, of Michigan, of Wisconsin, and of Iowa. A few general histories dealing with Minnesota are: Marion Grace Emery, *The Story of Minnesota,* Rochester, Minn., 1916; W. W. Folwell, *Minnesota, the North Star State* (American Commonwealth Series), Boston, 1908; Edward D. Neill, *Concise History of Minnesota,* Minneapolis, 1887; *ibid., History of Minnesota, from the Earliest French Explorations to the Present Time,* Philadelphia, 1858 (5th edition revised and enlarged, Minneapolis, 1883); E. S. Seymour, *Sketches of Minnesota, the New England of the West, with Incidents of Travel in that Territory during the Summer of 1849,* New York, 1850.

Other material may be found by consulting the bibliographies cited several times in this volume, and the following: Alice Marple, *Iowa Authors and their Works; a Contribution toward a Bibliography,* Des Moines, Iowa, 1918, and J. F. Williams, *Bibliography of Minnesota,* St. Paul, 1880 (Minnesota Historical Society, *Collections,* III).

CHAPTER IX

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE OREGON COUNTRY

On December 19, 1820, a committee was appointed by Congress "to inquire into the situation of settlements" in the Pacific Northwest and into the "expediency of occupying the Columbia River." This committee made a report through its chairman, John Floyd of Virginia, on the twenty-fifth day of the following January.[1]

Congressional report of January, 1821.—The report made a detailed review of the United States claims to the country and dwelt at length on the value of the fur trade. It told of the energy displayed by the Hudson Bay and Northwest Fur companies in their search for furs in that section. They carried their supplies for Indians and traders across the continent from Montreal to the Rocky Mountains and brought back the peltries over the same long route. They paddled their birch canoes through innumerable rivers, across more than sixty lakes carrying them over one hundred and thirty portages varying in length from a few yards to thirteen miles. The latter company had many establishments within the limits of the United States, "as fixed by the Convention of London of October 20, 1818." In order to have the people of the United States enjoy all the profits from this rich trade, therefore, it would be necessary to place a few troops on the upper waters of the Missouri River and compel the British to confine their activities to their own territory. If the Canadians had

[1] The detailed report, accompanied by a bill to authorize the occupation of the Columbia, and "to regulate intercourse with the Canadian tribes within the United States and territories thereof," may be found in *Annals of Congress*, 16th Cong., 2d Sess., 1820-1821, 946-959.

been able to carry on a profitable trade in spite of the numerous obstacles in their way, how much larger would be the profits to the citizens of the United States who could conduct their business along the Missouri and Columbia rivers which were separated by a portage of less than two hundred miles! All that was needed to develop Oregon was a small permanent post at the mouth of the Columbia, provision for which was made in the bill accompanying the report.

Proposal to introduce Chinese settlers. — If the United States were to make an establishment at the mouth of the Columbia, the report continued, there could be no doubt but what it would be successful, providing the men sent out were accompanied by their wives and children. "It is believed that population could be easily acquired from China, by which the arts of peace would at once acquire strength and influence, and make visible to the aborigines the manner in which their wants could be supplied." England had planned to introduce Chinese into the country in 1789, "that they might be employed in the mechanic arts." It was true that these people "evince no disposition to emigrate to the territory of adjoining princes," but it is believed that they would willingly, nay gladly, embrace the opportunity of a home in America, where they have no prejudices, no fears, no restraint in opinion, labor or religion."

This report is a document of first importance in the early history of Oregon. It has been declared to bear the same relations to the Pacific Northwest "in its expression and embodiment of the ideas and impulses that were to shape the progress of events" that "Richard Hakluyt's famous *Discourse on Western Planting* bears to the foundation of the English colonies in America." [2] But to the members of Congress it appeared absurd and

[2] Bourne, E. G., "Aspects of Oregon History before 1840" in the Oregon Historical Society *Quarterly*, VI. 263.

preposterous. Oregon was as remote as Africa, and one member spent some time attempting to show his colleagues that it would require a year or more for a congressman to make the round trip from Washington to that distant land, and that his trip to and from the capital would cost the national government three thousand, seven hundred and twenty dollars in mileage.[3] The report was laid on the table.

In 1824 and in 1826 negotiations were carried on between the United States and Great Britain over the division of the Oregon country, but the best the negotiators could do was to renew the Convention of 1818. Astor's experiment in the fur trade had not encouraged him to renew his interest in the Pacific Northwest, despite the restoration of Astoria to the United States according to the terms of the treaty of Ghent, and it was too early to expect the people as a whole to manifest any enthusiasm over a country which was so difficult of access.

A bill to organize Oregon territory.—This lack of interest on the part of the people generally will cause no surprise. The surprising thing is that there were a few who began to show a decided interest in Oregon by 1828. In various parts of the United States men became enthusiastic over the Pacific Northwest and manifested a willingness to brave the hardships of a march across the plains for the purpose of beginning life anew beyond the mountains. In Massachusetts, in Ohio, and in New Orleans three associations or companies of adventure were formed, and a bill was reported in Congress in their behalf in December, 1828. It provided for the organization of a territorial government over the entire country up to fifty-four degrees and forty minutes, and for the establishment of a military force, for the erection of a fort, for a port of entry, and for

[3] McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, V. 24.

donations of land to settlers. The discussion had not been carried far before a motion was made to modify the bill by striking out everything after the enacting clause and to substitute instead sections which would give the President power to build and garrison forts, to send out an expedition to explore the country, and to extend the jurisdiction of the United States to the citizens of Oregon.[4]

Oregon not worth possessing.—An interesting feature of this bill was the discussion it provoked in Congress. Bates of Missouri could not understand how any one would think seriously of occupying Oregon. The country wasn't worth settling. The entire region "between the Missouri and the Pacific, save a strip of cultural prairie not above two or three hundred miles wide . . . is waste and sterile, no better than the Desert of Sahara, and quite as dangerous to cross." Part of the country was composed of rocky ridges incapable of producing anything, and near the coast "the soil, where there is any, is formed of rotted pine leaves, and even that is swept away by the floods which from time to time cover the land along the river banks. To-day the extremity of drought prevails; to-morrow all except the hills are under water." He did not believe that settlers could be induced to remain there longer than two years; it would be impossible for them to endure the "incessant rain of four months' duration." But even if the settlement were successful it was ridiculous to imagine that the people in that far-off country could long retain any patriotic feeling for the United States. "Does any man imagine that a brotherhood of affection, a community of interest, could bind that distant and solitary member of the family in the far West to those held together by the firmest of political ties in the East? The very name of the place is expressive of its poverty

[4] The bill as finally amended may be found in *The Register of Debates in Congress*, V. 190, 191.

and sterility, for it comes from *oregano,*[5] a word applied by the Spaniards to an herb resembling pennyroyal and growing near the coast." [6]

To Mitchell of Tennessee the idea of settling Oregon was even more absurd. He couldn't understand how any one would desire to "seek the inhospitable regions of Oregon, unless, indeed, he wishes to be a savage." The Rocky Mountains formed our natural boundary on the west, and no man, even though he had "the most prolific mind," could ever look forward to the day when our country with that boundary would be densely populated. "Not even within the reach of fancy itself can the advocates of this bill point out the time when Oregon Territory will have to be organized." If any other nation wanted it, let that nation have it. "It is a territory we ought not to inhabit and one I hope we never shall inhabit," because it is too remote. "No sir, let those restless spirits who cannot be content to cultivate their native soil, let such beings go to Oregon, but let them go at their own risk." [7]

These speeches were delivered before the Lower House of Congress on December 29 and 30, 1828. Twenty years from that time a delegate was sitting in the House of Representatives from the Territory of Oregon. A little over forty years later the first transcontinental railroad was completed connecting the Pacific coast with the Atlantic.

More optimistic views.—There were others more optimistic than Bates and Mitchell. They denied that Oregon was a desert waste, but, on the other hand, pronounced it fertile and healthful, well watered and wooded, and to prove their contentions they quoted from Vancouver, Lewis and Clark, Franchére and Pre-

[5] For a discussion of the name Oregon, see Bancroft, *History of Oregon,* I. 17-25.

[6] *Register of Debates in Congress,* V. 127, 129.

[7] *Ibid.,* 134-137. The discussion of the bill is given between pages 125 and 153.

vost. It was a mistake to suppose that Oregon could never become a part of the Union. In time the Stony Mountains would be passed with as much ease as the Alleghenies then were. But these were the views of the minority. The belief that Oregon was of little importance, that it could not become a state in the Union, and that to organize it as a territory or extend the United States laws over it would violate the convention of 1827 were the opinions that prevailed, and the bill was rejected.

Oregon needs a "booster."—In fact the knowledge of the Pacific Northwest and the interest in the country at the time was too vague to expect such a bill to become a law. The wonder is that it was ever introduced. It is true that trappers and traders had visited the region for years and knew it thoroughly, but their knowledge had not been made available. The country was still a land of silence—a mythical land of

> "continuous woods
> Where rolls the Oregon, and hears no sound,
> Save his own dashings——" [8]

It needed some one to assemble the known facts of the territory and to bring them directly to the people and such information would be more effective, as far as the public's attitude toward Oregon was concerned, if it were presented by one who could speak with authority. Briefly, in modern parlance, Oregon needed a convincing "booster." Hall J. Kelley was destined to play a prominent part in satisfying this need.

Hall Jackson Kelley; plans for settling Oregon.—Kelley was a New England schoolmaster who became interested in Oregon as early as 1815. He believed the discussion of the Oregon question which he began that year led to the restoration of Astoria to the United

---

[8] Bryant, William Cullen, *Thanatopsis.*

States. In 1824 he began devoting the principal part of his time to agitating the Oregon controversy, and Bancroft says he did not "cease writing and raving" until the ripe age of eighty-five.[9] He assembled all the information he could obtain concerning Oregon, and from his investigations he became deeply impressed with two ideas: (1) the value of the country on account of its furs, fisheries, soil, and climate, and (2) the importance of christianizing the Indians. In 1829 he published his *Geographical Sketches of Oregon.* This, he said, was made up from the journals of Lewis and Clark, from public documents, and from personal interviews with *voyageurs* and travelers. In 1830 or 1831 the American Society for Encouraging a Settlement of the Oregon Territory was incorporated in Boston through his efforts. Many prominent people became interested in his plans, and the heads of all the departments in Washington were supplied with his literature. On more than one occasion he petitioned Congress for support, but the only pledge he could obtain was that protection would be given to any settlement he might establish in the Oregon country.

Kelley issued a general circular calling for emigrants.[10] His plans provided for extinguishing the Indian title to land in the Northwest, and for constructing a seaport city with wide streets, large lots, and a great public square on Gray's Bay at the mouth of the Multnomah River. The future inhabitants of this prospective city must be people who could present certificates of good moral character, they must sign a pledge to emigrate and obey the civil government to be estab-

[9] Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast,* II. 544.

[10] "A General Circular to All Persons of Good Character Who Wish to Emigrate to the Oregon Territory, Embracing some Account of the Character and Advantages of the Country; the Right and the Means and Operations by Which It is to be Settled;—And all Necessary Directions for Becoming an Emigrant," by Hall J. Kelley, General Agent. By order of the American Society for Encouraging the Settlement of the Oregon Territory Instituted in Boston in A. D., 1829. Charlestown, 1831.

lished, and they must deposit twenty dollars as proof of good faith. Physicians, master shipbuilders, wheelwrights, carpenters, blacksmiths, and skilled mechanics of all sorts were encouraged to join the forming expedition. Upon the arrival in Oregon each emigrant, except the married women, would receive a seaport lot five hundred feet square, or two farms, one of forty and the other of one hundred and sixty acres, both to be located in the Multnomah valley.

First expedition planned.—As originally planned the first expedition was to leave the East on January 1, 1832, but it was postponed hoping thereby to secure favorable action from Congress. Directions were accordingly sent out to the emigrants requesting them to gather in the chief cities from Portland and Boston to Albany and Baltimore on March 1, 1832, and prepare to make their way in companies of fifty from these points to St. Louis. They were to be provided with free transportation from the latter place to their destination on the Pacific coast. The route would be by way of the Great Platte River to its source, thence through the South Pass to the sources of the Multnomah, and down that river to its mouth. Each emigrant was responsible for finding his own arms, blankets, and covered wagon for his women and children.

Wyeth forms a separate expedition.—A very few applicants applied for enlistment in the first expedition, but among these was a man destined to play an important part in the settlement of Oregon. This was Nathaniel J. Wyeth, an ice-dealer of Cambridge, Massachusetts. The number enlisting was so small that the Colonization Society decided to join the first and second expeditions, and to change the date of departure from March to the first of June, 1832. This did not please Wyeth and he withdrew and began to organize a joint-stock company of fifty people to leave St. Louis by May 1. He planned to engage in trade in Oregon.

The articles of agreement were to last five years, and provided for a contribution of forty dollars from each member and for a division of the profits at the end of the period.

Under Wyeth's energetic leadership plans were rapidly projected.[11] Thirty-one men had entered their names by December 19, 1831. For the purpose of becoming better acquainted and discussing various angles of the proposed expedition, members of the company met at Wyeth's home every Saturday night. The emigrants assembled in camp on an island at the head of Boston harbor on March 1, 1832, where they practised frontier hardships for ten days, attracting considerable attention by their "showy and attractive uniform suits, a feature of which was a broad belt from which dangled bayonet, knife, and ax." The company was also provided with an "amphibious machine" which was a wagon when turned with one side up and became a boat when turned over. It occasioned considerable merriment at Wyeth's alma mater, Harvard College, where it was dubbed a "Nat-Wyethium."

Overland to the Columbia.—On March 10 the company set sail for Baltimore. Here they camped for a short time two miles outside the city and resumed the journey by rail to the Alleghenies. Thence they went on foot to the Monongahela, and by steamboat from there to Pittsburg, St. Louis, and Independence. There had been four additions to, and six withdrawals from, the company *en route*, so that twenty-seven remained to undertake the trip across the plains and over the mountains to the Pacific. Many of these were discouraged and the expedition might have gone to pieces had it not been for the advice, guidance, and protection of William L. Sublette and his band of trappers.

---

[11] Young, F. G. (editor) "The Correspondence and Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth, 1831-1836," Eugene, Oregon, 1899. The plan is outlined in a letter to Edward Everett, dated December 19, 1831, *ibid.*, 12, 13.

Under the direction of these veterans of the western country Wyeth and his little band crossed the plains and made their way over the mountains to Pierre's Hole on the upper waters of the Snake River.

Further desertions along the way and at this famous rendezvous of the trappers reduced the party to eleven. In vain they attempted to persuade Wyeth to abandon the undertaking. He remained here in the midst of the assembled trappers for nine days and then pushed on, traveling southwest under the guidance of Milton Sublette and his party to the vicinity of the headwaters of the Humboldt. Here the two expeditions separated and Wyeth with his remaining followers made his way to the Columbia, arriving at Fort Vancouver on October 29, 1832. The company was then dissolved, some of the men remaining in Oregon, others returning home by sea, and two accompanying the leader on his return overland. Wyeth reached Cambridge in November, 1833.

Meantime the plans of the Oregon Colonization Society had not prospered. Kelley found that he could not muster followers who were willing to leave for the Pacific Northwest in June, 1832, as he had planned, but he did gather a few in the autumn of that year. In the early part of 1833 he made a final appeal to the public. He declared that he intended to join his friends who would assemble at New Orleans in the following March. Recently he had fitted out detachments of emigrants, and it was necessary for him to seek aid. He intended to bring to the nations in and about the Pacific the principles of free and liberal government and the blessings of Christianity, and such a purpose was worthy of the support of the people.

Kelley deserted by his followers starts alone for Oregon.—In the spring of 1833, Kelley set out for the Columbia accompanied by a small party. He was provided with a free passage to New Orleans and a pass-

port through Mexico. His companions deserted him at New Orleans, and his voyage thence to Vera Cruz was made under great difficulties. Undaunted by his hardships and the inhospitable treatment accorded him in Mexico, he pushed on to California. In the latter place, in the summer of 1834, he met the American trader Ewing Young from Taos, New Mexico, and persuaded him to join in an expedition to the Columbia. A small party of about a dozen men composed of Kelley, Young, and some deserted seamen and adventurers made its way northward toward the goal of Kelley's ambition. In southern Oregon Kelley came down with an attack of malaria, from the effects of which he had not recovered when he reached Fort Vancouver in October, 1834. At this place his illness was aggravated still further by unpleasant accusations made by the Governor of California through the Hudson Bay Company officials and by the unsympathetic attitude of his American friends, particularly Wyeth and Lee. It is needless to record that he was bitter and despondent when he returned to Massachusetts in 1836, and his disappointments were increased by the loss of the remainder of his fortune in an unsound investment soon after his return to New England.

Kelley's part in settlement of Oregon.—It is difficult to estimate accurately Kelley's part in arousing an interest in Oregon and in stimulating the movement which led finally to the settlement of the country. It is possible that his Oregon propaganda encouraged Floyd of Virginia and Benton of Missouri to agitate the question in Congress, and it is very probable that he stimulated the movement of missionaries into that region. If the latter is a fact instead of a probability, then Hall J. Kelley played no small part in initiating a movement which led ultimately to the settlement of Oregon.[12] To this we may now turn our attention.

[12] For various opinions and estimates of Kelley's part in the settlement

Movement of missionaries into Oregon.— On March 1, 1833, the *Christian Advocate* published the well-known letter signed by William Walker in which the writer related the visit to Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, at St. Louis of the three chiefs of the Nez Percé Nation who had come from west of the Rocky Mountains in search of the Bible. They said that their fathers had told them of his visit to their nation when he had accompanied Lewis over the mountains to the mouth of the Columbia. They also said that white men who had penetrated their country at a later date and witnessed their religious ceremonies, had declared that their manner of worshiping the Great Spirit was wrong and had informed them that the white people away toward the rising sun had a book which would tell them the right way. The tribe was so excited by these descriptions that a council was called and four chiefs selected to go to St. Louis and procure this book. They were entertained by Clark, assured by him that what they had heard was true, and the Bible and its contents were explained, but they were not given a copy of the book. Two of the chiefs died while in St. Louis and the other two started homeward.

This letter attracted the attention of the pulpit and the press throughout the country. President Fisk of Wilbraham College urged young men to respond to the call of the Nez Percés, learn their language, preach Christ to them, open schools among them, and teach them the ways of civilization. Copies of the letter in other papers finally reached St. Louis and resulted in the publication of another letter in the *Christian Advocate* of May 10, 1833, written by E. W. Sehon, giving a different version of the cause of the visit of the Nez Percés chiefs. But this did not materially affect the interest which had been stirred up over the incident.

of Oregon see Fred W. Powell, *Hall Jackson Kelley, Prophet of Oregon,* Chapter XII; Bancroft, *History of Oregon,* I. 67.

As a result of Fisk's call Jason Lee and his nephew Daniel Lee offered their services as missionaries to the Indians. On October 10, 1833, a missionary meeting was held in New York to arrange for the early departure of the volunteers. The Methodist Missionary Board voted three thousand dollars for an outfit, decided that two laymen should be selected to go with and assist the missionaries, and authorized the latter to begin their work at once by traveling about the country and raising funds, then to work their way west to join some company of fur traders in the following spring.[13]

Before the missionaries left New York they learned that Nathaniel J. Wyeth had returned to Boston from his first attempt to establish a trading post at the mouth of the Columbia. He had brought two Indian boys with him from beyond the mountains who, arriving at this time, attracted more than ordinary interest. The board ordered Jason Lee to visit Wyeth at once and obtain information in regard to conditions in the West for missionary work. Wyeth gave what information he could. He also informed them that they might ship their possessions in a vessel which the Columbia River Company (the name Wyeth and his associates gave to their business enterprise) was about to send around Cape Horn and that the missionaries themselves might join him in the overland journey in the spring.

New expedition overland.—The missionaries left New York in March, 1834, and made their way to St. Louis, and thence to Independence, the rendezvous.

[13] McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, VI. 112, 113; 446, 448; Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, I. 54-59. J. Quinn Thornton in his *Oregon and California in 1848*, II. 21, says: "As early as the year 1831, the Methodist Board of Missions had been induced by Mr. Kelley to determine upon sending Messrs. Spaulding and Wilson as missionaries to the Indians of Oregon, but the expedition which they had proposed to accompany having been broken up, they changed their destination, and went to Liberia."

They met two of their associates here, Philip Edwards and Courtney Walker. Cyrus Shepard had joined Daniel Lee at Pittsburg. Wyeth had come before them, and Sublette joined the party before it left Independence. Townsend and Nuttall, two scientists, were also members of the expedition. The entire company of trappers, traders, missionaries, and adventurers numbered about seventy men. Dividing themselves into three groups with Wyeth and Sublette and their respective retainers taking the lead and the missionaries with their horses and cattle bringing up the rear, the company moved slowly westward across the Kansas River, up the forks of the Platte and the Laramie to the Green River, finally halting on June 22 at the trappers' rendezvous [14] on the latter stream. A few days were spent here and again the journey to the Pacific was resumed. On the Port Neuf River near its junction with the Snake in what is now southern Idaho, Wyeth lingered to build Fort Hall, but the missionaries pushed on to Walla Walla where they were joined by Wyeth. The cattle were left here to be transported by barge while the company went by canoe to Fort Vancouver, arriving September 16.

Hudson Bay Company Posts in Northwest.—The country in which the missionaries now found themselves was dominated by the Hudson Bay Company. The sole representative of the company at Fort George, formerly Astoria, was the white trader in charge. Farther up the Columbia, about six miles east of the mouth of the Willamette, was Fort Vancouver. This was the center of Hudson Bay Company interests in the Pacific Northwest, and was the residence of Dr. John McLoughlin, the chief factor. Fort Walla

[14] Townsend, John K., *Narrative of a Journey across the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River and a Visit to the Sandwich Islands and Chili,* etc., 75. Chapters II-X give an account of the journey including the arrival at Fort Vancouver.

Walla was situated two hundred miles above Fort Vancouver on the Columbia, and still farther up was Fort Okanogan and Fort Colville. The latter, like the others, stood on the bank of the river, and was a supply post for the forts and trading stations north of the Columbia. Other posts had been established north and west on the Kootenay, the Spokane, and the Flathead rivers and on Lake Pend d'Oreille. Fort Nisqually, another stockade including warehouses, magazine, and dwellings, was situated a mile from the head of Puget Sound. On the Umpqua River south of the Columbia was Fort Umpqua, and Fort Boise, built by the Hudson Bay Company as a rival to Fort Hall, stood on the Snake River near the mouth of the Boise.[15]

Against these scattered channels of British influence people of the United States offered Fort Hall on the Port Neuf River, Fort William on Wapato Island at the mouth of the Willamette, both of which had been constructed by Wyeth, and the aroused interest in missionary work among the Indians.

Within a week after their arrival at Fort Vancouver the Lees began exploring the country for a mission site. Their destination was the Willamette valley of which they had heard a great deal on their trip down the Snake and Columbia rivers. They were provided with guides, horses, and provisions for the entire trip by McLoughlin. Taking the route common to trappers of the time, they went by canoe to McKay's farm, situated a short distance up a small creek that emptied into the Multnomah, thence by horseback to the settlement on the east side of the Willamette River. About a dozen families were found along the river, mostly French Canadians who had been hunters employed by the Hudson Bay Company or free trappers. They had

[15] See *Report No. 101, House of Representatives,* 25th Cong., 3d Sess., particularly Wyeth's "Memoir of February 4, 1839," 19-22; W. A. Slacum's "Report," 29-46; and Hall J. Kelley's "Memoir," 53-61.

recently left that employment and begun farming in order that they might have a more dependable method of supporting their families. Apparently they were happy and prosperous, and to the missionaries they gave a generous welcome.

Establishment of a mission on the Willamette.—Here on the east side of the river and about sixty miles from its mouth, in the midst of a "broad, rich bottom, many miles in length, well watered, and supplied with timber, oak, fur, cotton-wood, white maple, and white ash, scattered along the borders of a grassy plain, where hundreds of acres were ready for the plough,"[16] the Lees chose a location for the mission. Then they returned to Fort Vancouver and proceeded at once to remove their men and possessions to the site chosen. McLoughlin in his usual way was ready to render any assistance. The brig *May Dacre,* Wyeth's vessel on which were the tools and goods of the missionaries, had arrived before the Lees had left Vancouver, and McLoughlin offered them a boat and crew to transport the mission goods to the site chosen. He also gave them horses and cows in exchange for others left at Walla Walla, and loaned them oxen with which to haul lumber for building. On account of poor health Shepard remained at Fort Vancouver, teaching a small school which was conducted under the patronage of McLoughlin. The other members of the missionary party with their livestock and goods arrived at their station on the Willamette on October 6, 1834, after a journey in which they experienced many hardships.

Reasons for selecting Willamette instead of Flathead country.—It may be remembered that the Lees had been sent out to do missionary work among the Flathead Indians, but we find them establishing themselves far from the native haunts of that particular tribe. Daniel

[16] Lee and Frost, *Ten Years in Oregon,* 125.

Lee gives four reasons for beginning the work on the Willamette: (1) The difficulties of obtaining food in a region so remote and inaccessible, and of transporting all necessary implements and tools a distance of six hundred miles. (2) The Flatheads were few in numbers on account of their perpetual wars with the Blackfeet. (3) "Their vicinity to the Blackfeet, as well the white man's enemy as theirs, and who would fall upon the abettors of their foes with signal revenge." (4) The missionaries desired a larger field of usefulness than was afforded by a single tribe. It was their intention to consider the wants of the entire country, "present and prospective," and the hope of meeting these wants led to the choice of the Willamette as the most suitable location. "Here any amount of supplies could be produced from the soil that might be required in the enlargement of the work; and here the first blow was struck by the pioneer missionaries in Oregon; and here they began their arduous and difficult toil to elevate and save the heathen from moral degradation and ruin."[17]

Arrival of Kelley and Ewing Young.—It was while they were in the midst of building a house and barn that a dozen men arrived one day led by Kelley and Ewing Young, who were on their way to Fort Vancouver. The reputation of some of the men was bad, and on reaching Fort Vancouver Kelley found that the Governor of California had written McLoughlin describing them as horse thieves and persons of dangerous character, and the Chief Factor refused to admit them into the fort until they cleared themselves. It will be remembered that Kelley was sick upon his arrival. He was kindly treated and given quarters in a cabin outside the stockade, and in the spring of 1835 he was provided with money and given passage in one

[17] *Ibid.*, 127, 128.

of the Hudson Bay Company ships to Hawaii. From there he made his way back to Boston.

Presbyterians become interested in missionary work.—Meanwhile the Presbyterian Church, following the lead of the Methodists, was preparing to undertake religious work beyond the mountains. In the spring of 1834, through its American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, it sent Samuel Parker, John Dunbar, and Samuel Allis to the Flatheads as missionaries. They had intended to join the expedition sent from St. Louis annually by the American Fur Company, but arrived at that city too late. Parker returned East but Dunbar and Allis went on and took up their labors among the Pawnees. In the spring of 1835 Parker repeated his efforts, this time with success. He arrived at St. Louis, April 4, where he found Marcus Whitman, a physician whom the Board had appointed to accompany him. The two missionaries joined an expedition of the American Fur Company at Liberty, Missouri. The party was under the direction of the trader Fontenelli.

Experiences of missionaries crossing plains.—On May 15 the expedition, consisting of sixty men and a caravan of pack animals and wagons loaded with Indian goods, left Liberty for Council Bluffs. The final start was made from Bellevue, a trading post on the west side of the Missouri, on June 22. The usual incidents of travel across the plain were experienced by the expedition: the early start and the long march before breakfast, the frequent thunderstorms which drenched and chilled, crossing and recrossing streams, occasional visits of Indians, and now and then a buffalo hunt or an accident. Proceeding by way of Fort Laramie they came to the rendezvous of the trappers on the Green River. Here Whitman gave medical and surgical aid to a number of persons, in one instance extracting from the back of Captain Bridger, the

builder of Fort Bridger on a branch of the Green River, an iron arrow three inches long; and in another, an arrow from the shoulder of a hunter who had carried it in his flesh for more than two years. His services on these occasions made a deep impression on the Flatheads and Nez Percés who were present, and increased their desires to have teachers among them who could do such wonderful things. A consultation between the missionaries resulted in an agreement to introduce teachers among the Indians as soon as possible. Whitman proposed to return to St. Louis with the caravan,[18] obtain assistants, and return with the trapping expedition the next spring. Meanwhile Parker continued westward under the protection of Captain Bridger and about sixty men as far as Pierre's Hole on the headwaters of the Snake River, thence under the guidance of the Flatheads and Nez Percés to the Columbia, arriving at Fort Vancouver on October 16, 1835.

Parker selects a missionary site.—Parker spent the winter at the fort enjoying the generous hospitality of McLoughlin. Several excursions were made into various parts of the surrounding country for the purpose of locating mission sites. On April 14, 1836, the missionary started to return east to the Green River valley to meet Whitman, but he did not go far in this direction. His dread of the Salmon River Mountains where he nearly lost his life the year before and his inability to persuade his guides to take the more southern route along the Snake River induced him to return to the Columbia. Some time was spent here in exploring for mission sites. The upper part of the Walla Walla valley was noted with particular favor, the only objection being that it was not centrally located for the Nez Percés, Cayuses, and Walla Walla Indians, to

[18] Parker, Samuel, *Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains*, 1842, 80-82.

whom the missions had been promised by him. The soil was exceedingly fertile and "even now," Parker said, "the spontaneous productions of these vast plains, including millions of acres, are so profuse, that not the fiftieth part becomes the food of organic life." Forty years were to pass before settlers were to realize that this was one of the most productive wheat fields in the world.

Steamer in the Columbia.—Further explorations were made by Parker in the upper Columbia country before he finally returned to Fort Vancouver. Here he witnessed the introduction of steam navigation by the company, and on June 14, with others, he took an excursion around Wapato Island in the *Beaver,* during which they reflected "upon the probable changes which would take place in these remote regions in a very few years" and upon the addition of a new empire to the kingdoms of the earth. On June 18, 1836, Parker left Fort Vancouver and sailed for Honolulu. He was compelled to wait here until the middle of December for passage to the United States, and arrived at his home May 23, 1837, after having traveled twenty-eight thousand miles. During the following year he published a volume of his travels.[19]

Whitman crosses plains with missionary party.—When Whitman left Parker at the Green River rendezvous he took two Indian boys and joining an expedition of the American Fur Company that was returning to St. Louis at the time, availed himself of their protection across the plains. Pushing on to New York he made a report to the American Board and that body determined to establish a mission among the tribes west of the Rockies in accordance with the arrangement made between Parker and Whitman when they separated.[20] In March, 1836, Whitman, with a wife

[19] The volume cited in connection with his explorations.

[20] Gray, W. H., *A History of Oregon, 1792-1849,* Portland, 1870, 109.

he had just married, set out on his return. At Pittsburg he was fortunate enough to meet H. H. Spaulding, a young minister who had recently graduated from Lane Theological Seminary near Cincinnati, Ohio, who was on his way, with his bride, to the Osage Indians. Whitman persuaded them to join him and his wife, and the four went to Liberty, Missouri, where the party was enlarged by the arrival of William H. Gray, two Indian boys, and a lad of sixteen from Iowa. The wives of the two missionaries were the first white women to make the trip across the plains.

Before leaving the frontier the expedition provided itself with wagons, teams, riding horses, pack animals, sixteen cows, blacksmith tools, a plow, grain for seed, and clothing for two years. Guided by a fur company caravan they made their way, after experiencing many delays and accidents, to Council Bluffs, thence to Laramie. At this place the fur traders left their carts, but Whitman retained one of his light wagons in order to make the trip more comfortable for Mrs. Spaulding who was in poor health. In this she made the journey through South Pass to the Green River rendezvous. While they were in camp here Wyeth arrived. The two forts which he had built had been sold to the Hudson Bay Company. He had already delivered Fort William and was on his way to surrender Fort Hall. He was accompanied by John McLeod, a chief trader of the British Company, who intended to return to Fort Vancouver after receiving Fort Hall from Wyeth, and offered to escort the emigrants. The missionary party was glad to avail itself of his kindness, and after a few weeks' delay the journey was resumed. Some of the heavy articles were left at Green River, but the light wagon was retained. At Fort Hall it was converted

---

McMaster says Whitman was disappointed because he was not able to found two missions as he had planned. *History of the People of the United States,* VI. 450. *See also* Bancroft, *Oregon,* I. 124.

into a cart and taken as far as Fort Boise. Here it was left because the horses were not able to pull it farther. It is said to have been the first wheeled vehicle to pass beyond Fort Hall.[21] Pushing forward the missionaries arrived at Fort Walla Walla on September 1, and reached Fort Vancouver on the twelfth of the same month where they were courteously received by the Chief Factor.

Mission established at Waiilatpu.—McLoughlin showed his accustomed generosity in the business dealings he had with the missionaries, and after resting a few days the latter began to make preparations for establishing their missions. Their goods had been left at various points along their route so that they had practically nothing with which they had started except their clothing. Purchasing a winter's supply of provisions and goods enough to load two *bateaux,* Whitman, Spaulding, and Gray, at the end of a week, returned to Fort Walla Walla, leaving the women at Fort Vancouver until a shelter had been prepared for them in their new quarters. At Waiilatpu on the north bank of the Walla Walla River near the mouth of a small stream known as Mill Creek, a site already chosen by Parker, the missionaries began the first mission house. It had disadvantages as a homestead, but wood and water could be secured and the place presented a certain picturesqueness which was enhanced by its isolation. It had the further advantage of being within twenty-two miles of Fort Walla Walla. Here among the Cayuses, with the help of the Indians and a man or two from the fort the first house was soon built. In the small valley of Lapwai about twelve miles from the mouth of the Kooskooskie another was quickly constructed. Before Christmas Whitman and his wife were settled in the first, and Spaulding and his wife in the other.

[21] Bancroft, *History of Oregon,* I. 133, note 25.

During the winter months the two families began their missionary duties in a limited way and planned for larger things in the spring. It was impossible, however, to extend the work to the Flatheads or to any other Indian tribes unless additional laborers could be found. It was concluded, therefore, that Gray should return East in the spring and procure reënforcements.[22] His trip was successful. He enlisted the services of three newly married couples, a single man, and a young lady who later became Gray's wife. They settled in 1838 in the missions already established or formed new ones among the Indians in the vicinity.

Reënforcements for the missions.—Meanwhile the Methodist mission at Willamette was reënforced. About a score of men, women, and children left Boston in July, 1836, and sailed around the Horn to Honolulu, arriving there so late that they decided to remain throughout the winter. In the spring they set sail for the northwest coast arriving at Fort Vancouver in May, 1837. The majority were interested in the missionary work among the Indians but there were also a physician, a blacksmith, and a ship carpenter. These had hardly established themselves before another vessel from Boston with more workers and additional supplies arrived at Fort Vancouver. This raised the number at the station to about sixty, twenty-five of whom were missionaries. A new station was located at the Dalles, and in order to extend the work still more Jason Lee determined to seek additional help in the East.

The Methodist mission was now a thriving community. While their members were increasing through the arrival of fellow workers from the East, they took another step which was to help free them from economic dependence on the Hudson Bay Company. This

---

[22] Gray, *History of Oregon*, 167-179.

British firm, as we have seen, through its Chief Factor, had been generous and courteous to the missionaries and had assisted them materially in establishing their post on the Willamette. There were few if any cattle in the country except those owned by the Hudson Bay Company, and these McLoughlin refused to sell. He was willing to let the missionaries have cows if they were desired for their milk, but they must be returned together with any increase which might have taken place while the cows were in the possession of the missionaries. Jason Lee and others may have looked upon this as oppression.

The Willamette Cattle Company.—The Secretary of State had been attracted to Oregon by the writings of Hall J. Kelley, and he determined to send a special agent to the Pacific coast to inquire into the truth of Kelley's statements. Slacum was chosen for this task. He went first to California, but unable to find conveyance from there to Oregon he proceeded to Hawaii. He chartered an American vessel there, arrived safely at Fort George, and was taken by canoe to Fort Vancouver, arriving at the latter place in the early part of January, 1837, soon after Whitman and Spaulding had left for their missions. Slacum visited the Methodist post on the Willamette where he "took an account of the produce of their farms, and stock, and the number of inhabitants." [23] and has been credited with suggesting a scheme whereby the settlement would be provided with cattle of its own. An organization was formed known as the Willamette Cattle Company, or the California Cattle Company as it is called by one writer.[24] It was backed by all the different interests involved in the American settlement of Oregon, but the management and execution of the plans fell largely upon Ewing

[23] Lee and Frost, *Ten Years in Oregon,* 144. Cf. Hines, Gustavus, *Oregon, its History, Condition, and Prospect,* 21, 22.

[24] Hines, *Oregon,* 21, gives it the latter name.

Young. With ten companions he went to California and purchased approximately eight hundred head of cattle. About two hundred head were lost in the long overland drive northward, but despite this the undertaking was a significant success for: (1) unity in associated effort had been realized; (2) provisions had been completed whereby the standard of living could be raised; (3) Young's leadership secured the complete ascendancy of democratic leadership "where up to this time benevolent autocracy had ruled." [25]

When Slacum returned to Washington some trouble occurred over the payment of expenses and he addressed a memorial to Congress in December, 1837, accompanied by a report.[26] This was followed by a message from the President.

National government's interest in Oregon.—Meanwhile Senator Linn of Missouri, who was an earnest and persistent advocate of our rights to Oregon, having failed to secure from the executive department definite information he sought regarding foreign influence in the Pacific Northwest, introduced a bill to organize the Oregon Territory, erect a fort on the Columbia, hold the country by military force, establish a port of entry, and spread the revenue laws over the country. The bill provided for appropriating fifty thousand dollars to put these measures into operation. Quick action he believed was necessary in order to insure the permanency of United States influence there. He was supported in his proposals by Buchanan. The latter declared that Slacum's report proved that the Hudson Bay Company was rapidly fastening its influence on the territory. It was time for the American government to take a determined stand in regard to Oregon. The bill was sent to a select committee, and

[25] Young, F. G., "Ewing Young and his Estate with Documentary Records," in the Oregon Historical Society, *Quarterly*, September, 1920, 172.

[26] *Senate Doc. No. 24*, 25th Cong., 2d Sess., I.

in the House Caleb Cushing took steps toward having the Committee on Foreign Affairs report on the expediency of submitting a similar bill.[27]

In June the Senate committee reported a bill, submitted long extracts from Slacum's memorial, a map of the Oregon country, and another of the Columbia for a distance of ninety miles from its mouth, gave quotations from the journal of Spaulding, from Lewis and Clark, Prevost, and Irving, and from the Encyclopedia of Geography; referred to the passage of the mountains by Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spaulding as proof of the fact that the route was direct and easy, and submitted a bill authorizing the President to use the army and navy to protect the persons and property of residents in Oregon.[28]

In March, 1838, at a meeting of the settlers in Oregon a memorial was drawn up asking Congress to extend its jurisdiction over the country. This was signed by thirty-six missionaries and settlers on the Willamette. In this document the settlers pointed out the natural advantages of the country not only as a place for settlement but also as a base from which to carry on trade with China. Then they indicated the benefits such control would bring to them. Good order had been maintained up to that time by the moral influence and dependence upon the Hudson Bay Company, but this must end. The population would surely increase and with this increase the feeling of dependence upon the Hudson Bay Company would diminish, and they were very much concerned over what might then result. They believed they were to be the founders of a great state and they wanted the moral and intellectual tone of its citizens to be high. It was for Congress to determine whether the future settlers of Oregon

[27] *Senate Journal,* Feb. 13, 1838, 226, and *House Journal,* March 19, 1838, and May 11, 872; May 22, 945; and May 23, 149.

[28] *Senate Doc. No. 470,* 25th Cong., 2d Sess., V.

should be unprincipled adventurers or the hardy and enterprising pioneers of the West.[29]

This memorial was placed in the hands of Jason Lee when he left for the East. He arrived in New York near the end of 1838 and soon after Congress met in December he sent the memorial to Caleb Cushing who was chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the House. Cushing had already presented a bill similar to the one that had been introduced in the Senate; and in order to complete the report he had been instructed to make covering the extent of the sea coast, number of harbors, climate, soil, productions, and trade, Cushing wrote Lee, Wyeth, Kelley, the secretary of the Oregon Provisional Emigration Society of Lynn,[30] and the Secretaries of State, War, and Navy, and submitted their replies as a supplementary report in February, 1839, but no action was taken by Congress.

Another call for missionaries.—Lee, however, did not wait for Congress to act. He had gone East to get reënforcements for the work in Oregon, and as soon as he had crossed the Mississippi River he had begun to lecture and work for recruits with all the ardor of an enthusiast. The people who heard him were impressed and he succeeded in raising money and missionaries for the work. At New York he made a report to the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, and a call was published in the *Christian Advocate* and *Journal* for five missionaries, and for laymen, physicians, farmers, mechanics, and young women for teachers. As a result fifty-two men, women, and children responded. A ship was chartered and loaded with forty-two thousand dollars' worth of things needed in the new

---

[29] *Reports of Committees, House of Representatives,* 25th Cong., 3d Sess., I. No. 101, January 28, 1839.

[30] This society was organized at Lynn, Massachusetts, in August, 1838. For the reply from its secretary, F. P. Tracy, and the society's constitution, *see ibid.*

colony. Some of the money used for chartering the vessel was drawn from the secret-service fund of the United States government by government officials.

Lee evidently had not spent all his time in the East in raising money and men. News had been sent him while crossing the country that his wife had died soon after he left the Columbia. He married another in the East and she became a member of the Oregon company.

Results of missionary activity.—The *Lausanne,* the vessel chartered by the missionaries, sailed from New York October 10, 1839, and reached the Columbia in May, 1840. Some of the emigrants were stationed in the old missions while others were used to found new ones. A new station was established south of the mouth of the Columbia on the Clatsop plain. Another was located near Fort Nisqually on Puget Sound. Jason Lee opened a new station on the Chemeketa Plain among the Umpqua Indians. But the missionary work did not prosper as many thought it should. Some of the new arrivals were disappointed and left the field. Jason Lee impaired his influence among the older workers by his second marriage. They had been deeply moved by the thought of his return to his desolate home; "and now the revulsion of feeling was so great that the supremacy of Jason Lee in their hearts was thenceforth a thing of the past."[31] By 1841 the missionary activity of the Methodists in Oregon was drawing to a close. Together with missionaries from other denominations they had accomplished two things for the United States besides performing their regular missionary duties among the Indians: (1) by their settlements in the Pacific Northwest they had kept alive American interest in the territory; and (2) through the propaganda activities of their leaders they had been powerful factors in arousing that interest in

[31] Bancroft, *History of Oregon,* I. 183. *See also* Chapter VIII.

the United States which resulted in thousands of men, women, and children seeking homes in Oregon.

Petitions to Congress; Linn's bill.—In August, 1841, a petition from citizens in Alabama informed Congress, while in special session, that they intended to move to Oregon and requested armed protection. At the regular session a little later one hundred and eighty citizens of Missouri warned the national legislators that the territory of Oregon would be taken over by Great Britain unless it were settled by people from the United States. Many of them declared that they were ready to emigrate if Congress would establish military posts in the territory and would give each settler six hundred and forty acres of land after residing there for five years. During this same session Congress received a memorial from the town of Washington in Oregon requesting that body to secure them in the title to the lands which they occupied, and to protect them against the domination of the Hudson Bay Company.[32] This induced Linn to present a bill again in the Senate. It provided for a chain of stockaded posts or blockhouses from the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains, for a land grant of six hundred and forty acres to every male emigrant eighteen years of age or over who should cultivate the soil for five years, and an additional one hundred and sixty acres for the wife of each married man and for each child born in the territory during the first five years of residence. In the midst of considering the bill Lord Ashburton arrived and it was put aside in the belief that the Oregon question would soon be settled by negotiation.

Sub-Indian agent White seeks emigrants to Oregon.—But while Webster and Ashburton negotiated the government and people were also busy. John C. Frémont was despatched by the Secretary of War to

[32] *Congressional Globe*, 27th Cong., 2d Sess., 361.

explore a route from western Missouri to the South Pass, and Elijah White was sent to Oregon as a sub-Indian agent. White's instructions bade him to return to Oregon as soon as possible (he had been there as a missionary) and to take with him as many emigrants as he could assemble. Immediately perfecting his plans he started for Independence. Through every available channel—notices in the newspapers, addresses and lectures, private conversations—he made known to the people that a company was forming to settle in Oregon, and that those who desired to join it should arrange their affairs and meet the others at Elm Grove, about twenty miles southwest of Independence. As a result of his endeavors over one hundred men, women, and children gathered at the rendezvous in the spring of 1842.

Emigration of 1842.—The overland journey was begun about the middle of May under the leadership of White who was replaced by L. W. Hastings at the end of a month. The company experienced more than ordinary difficulties and disagreements when compared with the preceding ones. They did not have the protection of a fur-trading expedition, and the dissensions among their leaders led to divisions within the company. In spite of the difficulties experienced, the emigrants reached the Willamette valley early in October. White and a few associates had preceded the main expedition and had reached Fort Vancouver September 20. In the spring of the following year (1843) Hastings with about one-third of the adult male members of the original company, with women and children, started for California. On their way south they met a company *en route* to Oregon, and about a third of Hasting's company joined them and returned.

The overland expedition of 1842 has been overshadowed by the much larger emigration of 1843 and

possibly has not received as much credit as it deserves. It was the largest company that had come to Oregon up to that time, and its members came to colonize the country. In the fall of 1842 there were but two or three houses where Oregon City is located; in the spring of 1843 there were thirty. These were built by energetic members of the company of 1842.[33]

Linn's bill discussed; Choate's views.—Some time before the company of 1842 had reached the Columbia, Webster and Ashburton concluded the treaty which bears their names without settling the Oregon question. Again Senator Linn brought forward his bill and a long debate was precipitated.[34] It was declared that the undertaking was too great. Steeped in debt, with its treasury empty, and its currency in disorder, the government was in no condition to bear the cost of a chain of stockaded posts across the plains. Neither was the country in a position to raise an issue with Great Britain such as the bill would inevitably stir up. The land grants proposed would be an exercise of that exclusive jurisdiction over the territory forbidden by the Conventions of 1818 and 1827. Indeed, said Choate of Massachusetts, not an Englishman could set his foot in Oregon for farming, hunting, or trading purposes within five years if the bill produced the effect expected. The only justification for passing such a bill would be to have England begin to colonize or in some other way break the Convention. But he saw no intention on her part to violate the Convention. It might be true that her subjects were silently and widely occupying the territory, culling out the choicest parts, taking up the best mill sites, reclaiming the richest lands, extending the English name, character, institu-

[33] Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, I. 264, 265.

[34] Appendix to the *Congressional Globe*, 27th Cong., 2d Sess., 736, 737. *See* index under Linn, Benton, McDuffie, Choate, Calhoun, 3d Sess., for debates over the bill.

tions over all of it, making it slowly into another England, in which case it might be as well to end the Convention. The question was not whether England was or was not friendly to us, not whether she was proud, ambitious, and grasping. The question was, Does she grant lands in Oregon to English subjects, to be enjoyed exclusively and adversely to all the world? There was no proof of this. The United States might do one of two things. It might serve the year's notice at once, end the Convention, and at the end of the year proceed to plant a colony in Oregon; or better, by negotiations forever end the last serious question which endangered the peace of the two great nations of one faith and one blood.

Views of Linn and Benton.—Linn and Benton felt differently. Had not Great Britain extended her jurisdiction over Oregon, the former inquired? Had she not built forts, set up establishments, and settled farms? Could she in the face of this make objections to the United States doing the same? Was it not a fact that forts called Hudson Bay Company trading posts had been built on the Columbia? Was it not a fact that subjects of Great Britain had picked out, settled on, and cultivated lands under promise of protection by the Crown? American citizens had the same rights under the treaty, but their government had failed to promise them protection. It had been said that the British did not understand the treaty as giving any joint rights except in trading, hunting, trapping, and fishing. Had not the British subjects large farms on the Columbia? Didn't they have the Puget Sound Company to carry on farming on a great scale at Nesqually, Colville, Walla Walla, and Vancouver? Didn't they have sawmills which sent lumber to the Sandwich Islands? Didn't they have contracts with Russia to furnish beef, pork, wheat, and salmon? Did the Convention of 1827 give Great Britain the right to turn Oregon

into a farming settlement and deny it to the United States?

Benton said the bill before the Senate was opposed because it implied the assertion of an exclusive possession which might be a breach of the Convention of 1818. The view was wrong. At that very moment the British had exclusive possession of the ground covered by Fort Vancouver, Fort Colville, and by all other forts, and of all the ground they cultivate. They had forts, houses, fields, farms, and possessed them exclusively. Grants of land to American settlers could be no more exclusive than these. They would exclude only to the extent of the grant. Free and open access to all the rivers, harbors, creeks, and bays was secured to both parties by terms of the Convention. The United States secured the right to go on the British claims to hunt, fish, and navigate. Great Britain secured the right to go on the claims of the United States for a similar purpose, without in any way prejudicing the claims of either to any part of the country. What were the American claims? The Columbia River from source to mouth. How had the British acted under terms of the Convention? They had crossed the parallel of forty-nine degrees, had come down on the Columbia, taken possession of it from mouth to source, fortified and colonized it, monopolized the fur trade, driven the American traders across the mountains, and killed more than a thousand of them. This they had done through their agent—the Hudson Bay Company. What had the United States done? Nothing.

McDuffie's views.—But Senator McDuffie, voicing the sentiments of others besides himself, did not want Oregon on any terms. Why should the United States want the territory? What would they do with it? If Oregon were really to become part of the Union, it would present a very different question. But did any man seriously suppose that a state could ever be formed

at the mouth of the Columbia? He had great faith in the power of representative government, but never even in the sanguine days of youth had he dreamed of the possibility of embracing within the same government people living five thousand miles apart. The Senator from New Hampshire had discovered a bond more potent than representative government—steam. How could steam be applied in this case? For seven hundred miles east of the Rocky Mountains the country was uninhabitable because the soil was sandy and barren and the rain scarcely ever fell. Beyond the plain were three ridges of mountains which were totally impassable, except at certain gaps to be reached by going hundreds of miles out of the direct course. How then could steam be applied? Had members of Congress estimated the cost of a railroad at the mouth of the Columbia? The wealth of the Indies would not be sufficient to pay for it. No, the advocates of the bill were laboring under false impressions about Oregon. As an agricultural country it was worthless. "Why, I would not give a pinch of snuff for the whole country. I wish to God we did not own it." Did any one think the honest farmers of Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, or Missouri would leave their farms and go on such an enterprise? God forbid!

Calhoun's views.—Calhoun's faith was much larger than McDuffie's. Thirty-two years had passed since he first entered the Lower House of Congress, and during that time he had seen the Indian frontier recede a thousand miles westward. It was too early for the United States to assert and maintain its claims to Oregon yet. If attempted it would end in failure.

How, then, can we save Oregon? There is but one means—time. All we need to gain our end is a masterly inactivity. . . . In a little while the great westward-rolling wave of population will reach the Rocky Mountains and

be ready to pour into Oregon. Then shall we come into our possession without a struggle.

Failure of Webster-Ashburton Treaty in Oregon question.—Meanwhile the first of these "great westward-moving waves of population" was forming. The failure of Webster and Ashburton to settle the Oregon question had aroused public sentiment. In Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, a mass meeting was called to consider the advisability of moving to Oregon. A committee was appointed to report on the country, the route, and the best place for locating a settlement. After some investigation the committee reported that it would be unwise for American citizens to go to Oregon until the government was willing to protect their rights. But those who were determined to go were informed that Fitzpatrick would leave Independence, Missouri, with a party on April 1, and that White advised future emigrants to secure light, strong wagons, buy mules, and take with them a light equipment consisting of cooking utensils and food for four months. At Logan, Ohio, a meeting of indignant citizens expressed disappointment at the failure of Webster and Ashburton to settle the question, declared that the occupation of Oregon by Great Britain was a disgrace to the United States, that the Monroe Doctrine was the true American policy, and recommended that the Conventions of 1818 and 1827 be abrogated. At St. Louis a public meeting was called to assist in the colonization of Oregon, and at a meeting in Cincinnati the people expressed the belief that any attempt to surrender a part of Oregon for a part of California was unwise. It would not do to have either Oregon or California go into the hands of Great Britain. It was also proposed that a convention of western and southern states be held at Cincinnati on July 3, 4 and 5, to urge the immediate occupation of Oregon by United States troops, and to adopt measures which would result in

the people taking possession of the country whether the government did or not.[35]

Six states in the Mississippi valley sent ninety-six delegates to the convention in July. They declared that the right of the United States to Oregon was unmistakable and that this right included the entire territory from forty-two to fifty-four forty north latitude. The measures of the bill which Senator Linn proposed were approved and the Monroe Doctrine was endorsed. In western Missouri and in Vermillion County, Illinois, other meetings were held and similar sentiments expressed.[36]

Company formed for overland emigration.—This agitation in behalf of Oregon in Congress and in mass meetings throughout the country bore fruit in the spring of 1843. As soon as the grass began to grow, without preconcert, but as if by previous appointment, emigrants from Missouri, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Iowa, bringing their families in canvas-covered ox-wagons inscribed "For Oregon," and driving herds of cattle before them, began to assemble at Elm Grove, about twelve miles southwest of Independence. From the Platte Purchase in Missouri came Peter H. Burnett of Weston with a large following. Jesse Applegate, with his two brothers Lindsey and Charles, led a company from St. Clair County. From the southeastern part of the state Joseph B. Chiles brought a party which was to go to California. Under T. D. Kaiser, Jesse Looney, and Daniel Matheney other parties made their way to the common rendezvous. About a thousand gathered here preparatory to crossing the plains for the Pacific.[37]

Selecting a leader.—While in the process of perfecting their organization a hunting party *en route* to

[35] McMaster, *History of the People of the United States,* VII. 294, 295.
[36] *Ibid.,* 296, 297.
[37] *See* Bancroft, *History of Oregon* I. 395, note 4.

the Rocky Mountains came upon the emigrants and one of their number, probably the editor of the New Orleans *Picayune* who was of the party, has left a description of the method used:[38]

. . . but in their largest force we saw them just after crossing the Kansas River about the first of June. The Oregonians were assembled here to the number of six or eight hundred, and when we passed their encampment they were engaged in the business of electing officers to regulate the conduct of their proceedings. It was a curious and unaccountable spectacle to us as we approached. We saw a large body of men wheeling and marching about the prairie, describing revolutions neither recognizable as savage, civic, or military. We soon knew they were not Indians, and were not long in setting them down for emigrants, but what in the name of mystery they were about our best guessing could not reduce to anything in the shape of a mathematical probability. On arriving among them, however, we found they were only going on with their elections in a manner perhaps old enough, but very new . . . to us. The candidates stood up in a row behind the constituents, and at a given signal they wheeled about and marched off, while the general mass broke after them . . . each man forming in behind his favorite so that every candidate flourished a sort of tail of his own, and the man with the longest tail was elected.

In this manner Peter H. Burnett was chosen captain, J. W. Nesmith orderly sergeant, and nine councilmen were elected to assist in settling disputed questions. A former army officer, but then a mountain man, John Gantt, was engaged at one dollar a head per emigrant to guide the party to Fort Hall.

[38] Printed in the New Orleans *Picayune* for November 21, 1843. The above is from a reprint of the article in the Oregon Historical Society, *Quarterly*, I. (March to December, 1900), 398-402. *See* Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, I. 396, note 6. Burnett in his *Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer*, Chapter III, gives an account of the organization of the company and journey overland. In Oregon Historical Society, *Quarterly*, V. 64.

Emigration of 1843.—It was hardly to be expected that harmony would continue indefinitely among a company of frontiersmen as large as the expedition of 1843. A serious quarrel developed after a few days over an attempt to force a rule that no family should drive more than three head of loose cattle, and over the refusal of those who had no cattle to stand guard over the herds at night. Burnett resigned when he found it impossible to maintain peace, and the councilmen ordered the election of four orderly sergeants, four captains, and a colonel. The last named position was given to William Martin, and the members of the company who owned cattle, with about fifty wagons, elected Jesse Applegate captain and withdrew to the rear. This divided the expedition into two companies, one called the cow column and the other the light column. Marching within supporting distance of each other they made their way to Independence Rock, on which they recorded "The Oregon Company arrived July 26, 1843." [39] The Sweetwater was reached early in August. By that time the company had divided into four parties, a division which Whitman who was with the company had recommended before it had left the Kansas River. At Fort Hall attempts were made to persuade the emigrants to leave their wagons, but Whitman believed that the remainder of the journey could be made by wagon and his advice was accepted. The California emigrants left the main expedition near the

[39] *Ibid.*, 402. *Ibid.* (March-December, 1903), IV. 177, is a copy of a letter written by a member of the expedition and dated June 3, 1843, first published in the *Iowa Gazette* of July 8 and copied by the New York *Tribune* of August 5, 1843, which gives an account of the disputes. The writer thinks there were over three thousand and perhaps five thousand head of cattle, mules, and horses attached to the company. The dispute was finally settled by the owners of the cattle agreeing to furnish the company with beef, oxen, and milk cows. The beef was to be provided only in case buffalo meat became scarce and the price was to be fixed by the committee. Milk cows and oxen were to be furnished without charge. The writer said the number of cattle was quite too large. Indian attacks were invited by such a vast herd.

American Falls of the Snake River and Whitman himself guided the main company over part of the route. When he finally left the emigrant band to push on ahead a Cayuse chief guided the expedition to Waiilatpu. From there they went to Walla Walla, thence traveled by land and by canoe to the Dalles. They still had the most dangerous part of the route before them. The emigrant road ended, and some left their cattle and wagons, made rafts, and with their goods lashed on them floated down the river to the Cascades. Others proceeded by land, driving their cattle before them. The Willamette was finally reached after great suffering from cold and hunger.

Location of settlers.—It was the last of November when this great body of emigrants arrived, and the problem of shelter was a serious one. It was obviously impractical for the majority of them to select land for settlement before spring. The emigrants who were able bought supplies from the Hudson Bay Company and provided themselves with temporary shelter during the rainy season; others found employment and went to work. A number remained in Oregon City. But it was a question of only a few weeks or months before they would seek permanent quarters. Waldo drove his cattle into the hills southeast of Salem and made a settlement. Kaiser, in the spring, selected a claim a mile and a half below Salem. Nesmith and the Fords remained a short time in Oregon City and then settled in what became Yamhill County. McClane settled at Salem and purchased the mission mills there. Another emigrant settled on the plain near Salem, and Howell's Prairie takes its name from the settler. Jesse Applegate was employed in surveying both at Salem and at Oregon City and in the spring, with his two brothers, opened farms in the present Polk County near Dallas. On the Tualatin plains in later Washington County the Garrisons settled. Burnett and

McCarver located on land on the west bank of the Willamette River "above the head of Suave Island" and laid out a town which they named Linnton in honor of Senator Linn. The town did not develop and its promoters moved to the vicinity of the present town of Hillsboro and took up farms near the Garrisons. Other settlers occupied lands above the old fort of Astoria and laid the foundation for the present town of that name. Lovejoy with F. W. Pettygrove later laid off the town of Portland.[40]

During the year 1843 a few emigrants came into Oregon by sea. Some of these settled at Oregon City. Another opened a farm sixteen miles up Clackamas River on the trail leading to the Dalles. His farm later became the halting place for immigrants who took the Mount Hood road into the Willamette valley. Still another, after assisting in building the first two houses in Portland, moved to Puget Sound later, in 1846, and became one of the founders of Olympia.[41]

Attempts to organize local government.—As early as 1838 the Methodist missions furnished a magistrate and a constable for the colonists. These officers were provided not so much because they were needed as because the Americans desired to keep up with the British fur company in the exercise of civil jurisdiction. In 1840 the arrival of the great missionary reënforcement took place, and it was evident that some form of local government would be necessary sooner or later. And yet there was such general good order in the colony that its organization might have been postponed for some time except for the death of Ewing Young in the winter of 1840-1841. Young left considerable property and no legal claimants. The administration of his estate was a perplexing problem since there was no probate court. A mass meeting of the people living south

[40] Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, I. 413-415.
[41] *Ibid.*, 422-424.

of the Columbia was called at the Methodist mission for February 17 and 18, 1841. Steps were taken to provide laws and officials for the community; but the appointment of a judge with probate powers who disposed of Ewing Young's estate to the entire satisfaction of the community, and opposition to a permanent governmental organization on the part of some of the prominent settlers led to a temporary abandonment of the project. The people were still further encouraged in postponing the establishment of a civil government by the appearance of Captain Wilkes. The latter was decidedly opposed to the idea, and encouraged the people to believe that the United States would soon extend its jurisdiction over the territory.

The Champoeg convention of 1843.—The subject of organizing a government was again revived in the autumn of 1842. This led White, the sub-Indian agent for Oregon, to claim that his office was equivalent to that of governor of the colony, but some of the citizens contended that the doctor's business was to regulate the intercourse between the whites and the Indians and not to interfere with the former in their intercourse among themselves. A meeting was held at French Prairie for considering the matter of organizing a government and the Canadians were asked to take part in such organization. They declined, it was believed, because of the advice of McLoughlin and their spiritual adviser, Blanchet. The subject was discussed more or less during the winter, and finally at a meeting held in March, 1843, at Willamette Falls, a committee was appointed to give notice of a public meeting to be held in May following for the purpose of perfecting a governmental organization. The convention assembled at Champoeg on May 2. Here the opponents to an organized government in Oregon made strenuous attempts to block the move, failed, and withdrew. The committee that called the meeting had drawn up a report, and this was sub-

mitted and disposed of article by article. The result of the proceedings was the immediate election of a supreme judge with probate powers; a clerk of the court, or recorder; a sheriff; a treasurer; four magistrates; four constables; a major and three captains; and a legislative committee of nine members. The legislative committee was expected to complete its work in six days, and July 5 was fixed as the date for receiving its report. On the day designated the report was made and adopted.[42]

The work of the men at Champoeg will always occupy a place of first importance in the history of government in the Pacific Northwest. The pioneers who drew it up deserve great credit for what they did, but the success of these first efforts was due largely to the great emigration of that year. This changed the small American majority into a large one, provided able political leaders, and gave a feeling of stability and security to their government which it had not enjoyed.

If the arrival of immigrants saved the provisional government of 1843 it also pointed out its weaknesses. Among the most prominent of these were the provision for an excutive committee of three instead of a governor; a land law which permitted the Catholic and Protestant missions to claim each an entire township besides the land their members held as individual settlers; and a dependence upon private contributions for the necessary government funds. The agitation these defects provoked resulted in the election of a new legislative committee in the spring of 1844 made up principally of recent arrivals, and that body revised the entire system of government. The executive power was placed in charge of a governor to be elected by the qualified voters at the regular annual elections. The legislative power was vested in a house of representatives to

[42] The report of the committee is given in Hines, *Oregon*, 426-431.

consist of not less than thirteen nor more than sixty-one members instead of a committee of nine as formerly. The new body had all the powers usually possessed by territorial legislatures. The judicial power was vested in a supreme court and such inferior courts "of law, equity, and arbitration, as should, by law, from time to time, be established." [43] Changes were made also in the land laws which permitted none but actual settlers to hold claims. And finally provision was made for a system of taxation whereby the government could secure funds for maintaining itself with dignity and self-respect.

Emigration of 1844.—The number of immigrants coming into Oregon during 1844 was much larger than the company of the preceding year. They were drawn to the Pacific Northwest not only by the favorable reports from settlers who had gone before them and by the constant agitation in favor of emigration along the frontier, but by the prospect of having to drive Great Britain from the country.[44] They felt, some of them perhaps in an exaggerated degree, the rising hostility to England which was occasionally indicated by speeches in Congress and by the slogan of "fifty-four forty or fight" that was adopted by the Democrats in the presidential election of 1844. Intense suffering was experienced by members of the expedition before they reached their destination. The majority of them settled in the Willamette valley, but several of the families pushed north and located in the vicinity of Olympia. McLoughlin desired to confine the American settlements to the country south of the Columbia, and this evidently influenced some of the emigrants of 1844 to establish themselves north of that river. For a time it looked as if hostilities might take place between some

[43] *Ibid.*, 431, 432. *See also* Schafer, Joseph, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, New York, 1905, 197-206.

[44] Bancroft, *Oregon*, I. 448, and note 7.

of the American settlers and the employees of the Hudson Bay Company, but a few men with good judgment on both sides settled the questions under dispute. McLoughlin did a great deal to remove similar dangers to the peace of the community by complying with the suggestion of the local legislature in 1845 and joining in the government organization which the Americans had established.[45]

Further emigration to 1848.—The population of Oregon was more than doubled by the emigrants of 1845.[46] In the spring of that year companies began to form under capable leaders at Independence and at St. Joseph, Missouri, and when the expeditions were finally on the march they covered the trail from the state line to fifteen miles beyond the Big Blue. The journey between the Missouri and the Snake rivers was uneventful, but at Fort Hall, it was said, they found agents of the Hudson Bay Company who attempted to turn them from Oregon to California. Between Fort Hall and the Columbia the expedition experienced intense suffering and some loss of life. In 1846 about fifteen hundred more arrived, and the following year, after the settlement of the boundary question, four or five thousand people migrated to Oregon from the states. The number for 1848 was seven hundred or more.

Population and industries.—By the end of the year 1848 there were between ten and twelve thousand people in Oregon, including the whites and half-breed Indians. They were living in scattered settlements about the valley of the Willamette, with a few in the

[45] It took all the tact and diplomacy of McLoughlin to avoid hostilities with members of the expedition of 1844. Bancroft, *History of Oregon,* I. 458-465. See also *ibid.,* 493-495, for union of Hudson Bay Company and Americans in local government.

[46] *Ibid.,* 508; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States,* VII. 412; Gray, *History of Oregon,* 453; Niles' *Weekly Register,* May 30, 1845, 203.

valleys of the Columbia, the Cowlitz, and on Puget Sound, and for the most part were engaged in stock raising and grain growing.[47] During the year 1844 the people raised more grain than they needed for their own use, according to Hines, shipped fifteen thousand bushels of wheat to the Russian settlements, and exported a thousand barrels of flour to the Sandwich Islands. A good crop of wheat, "provided the seed is put into the ground in its season, and in a proper manner, is as sure to reward the labor of the husbandman, as that day and night will continue until harvest time," and fifty and sixty bushels to the acre were not uncommon.[48] Indian corn did not do well, but vegetables and fruit thrived. There were nine grist mills in the country, and a sufficient number of sawmills had been constructed to provide lumber in necessary quantities for the inhabitants.

Territorial government established 1848.—The provisional government which had been established in 1843, with the modifications introduced during the following years, had served the community satisfactorily, but the demand for an extension of the laws of the United States over the country had grown with the increase in population. The United States and England had agreed upon a division of the territory, and there was no longer any just reason for the former to delay organizing a territorial government for Oregon. The people of that trans-mountain country sent messengers to Washington to urge that action be taken by the national legislature as soon as possible, but the wheels of Congress were clogged with the slavery controversy.

[47] *Ibid.*, II. 1. Wilkes was in Oregon in 1841. He estimated the population at that time, including Indians and embracing in his estimate all the Oregon territory between forty-two degrees and fifty-four degrees and forty minutes at 19,204. He thought his estimate was too large rather than too small. Of the whites, Canadians, and half-breeds there were between 700 and 800, of whom about 150 were Americans. Report copied in Oregon Historical Society, *Quarterly*, XII. 291.

[48] Hines, *Oregon*, 342.

A bill to organize the Territory of Oregon was reported in the Senate by Stephen A. Douglas on January 10, 1848. The president sent a message to Congress late in May which hastened action, and transmitted an appeal from the assembly of Oregon for troops and a territorial government. The bill was taken up in earnest and might have passed had not Hale of Massachusetts moved to add a section forbidding slavery. This aroused so much opposition that the amendment was finally withdrawn. The debate then began on a motion to strike out section twelve which declared that the "existing laws now in force in the Territory of Oregon, under the authority of the Provisional government established by the people, shall be valid therein." One of the laws referred to forbade slavery, and if it remained Oregon would be free soil. Regardless of the fact that nature had decreed against slavery in Oregon, regardless of the fact that any legislation by Congress would in no way affect the situation, the debate on the subject was heated. Finding that an agreement was impossible, the question was referred to a committee of eight of which Clayton of Delaware was chairman. On July 18 this committee reported a bill to organize three territories in Oregon, California, and New Mexico. The anti-slavery laws which had been passed by the provisional government in Oregon were to be retained subject to the later action of the territorial legislature, but California and New Mexico were not to be permitted to legislate regarding slavery. The Supreme Court was to have the right to settle disputes over slavery in those territories. This compromise measure was accepted by the Senate but the House rejected it. On August 2 the latter body passed a bill for the organization of Oregon alone, with the anti-slavery provision of the Ordinance of 1787. An attempt was made in the Senate to amend the bill, but "mindful of the recent nomination of Van Buren on a platform call-

ing for 'free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men,' receded, and accepted the bill as framed by the House." [49]

It was signed by Polk on August 14, 1848, and Oregon secured a territorial organization. Four days later the President appointed Joseph Lane governor of the newly organized territory, and early the next spring the new executive arrived at Oregon City. On March 3, one day before Polk's administration came to an end, Lane issued a proclamation notifying the people that he was on that day entering upon the discharge of his duties.[50]

Effect on Oregon of Gold in California.—While his vessel was anchored in San Francisco Bay, Lane saw hundreds of men from the Willamette with thousands of dollars' worth of gold dust buckled to their waists. They had been drawn to California by the discovery of gold in January, 1848, by J. W. Marshall who had come to Oregon with the emigrants of 1844 and had moved two years later to California and entered the employment of Sutter. Several thousand of Oregon citizens joined the rush to California's gold field during the years 1848 to 1849. Lane's first census of the territory, taken soon after he entered office, showed an American population of 8,785, counting all ages and both sexes, and 298 foreigners.[51] But the loss of population on account of the discovery of gold did not affect Oregon permanently. Of the thousands who crossed the plains a few chose the northern territory instead of California. There were several thousand of these between 1850 and 1853.

Development of southern Oregon.—Influenced by the excitement of gold-seeking and the love of adventure which it stirred up, all the northwest seaboard was opened to settlement. A mania for prospecting

[49] MacDonald, William, *From Jefferson to Lincoln*, 126, 127.
[50] *Lane's Autobiography*, MS. 5.
[51] Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, II. 66, note 1.

and discovery possessed the people. "From Klamath River to Puget Sound and from upper Columbia to the sea men were spying out wealth or laying plans to profit by the operations of those who preferred the risks of the gold field to other and more settled pursuits." [52] An association of seventy of these speculators was formed at San Francisco in 1850 for the purpose of discovery, opening roads to the mines of northern California, and the founding of towns In May thirty-five of the share-holders sailed north in a small vessel and entered first the mouth of the Rogue River in southern Oregon. The adventurers were not favorably impressed either by the natives whom they met or by the appearance of the country, and they sailed up the coast a little farther to the Umpqua. Here they met a small party of Oregonians, among them Jesse Applegate, who were also exploring. The two parties joined, and the "Umpqua Town-Site and Colonization Land Company" was formed. The forces were divided and Umpqua valley was surveyed and explored. Then some members of the company returned to San Francisco and began selling lots in Oregon. Seventy-five emigrants were sent from San Francisco to occupy chosen sites in the Umpqua valley, but the Umpqua Company failed. One reason for its failure was the passage of the Oregon land law in September, which forbade companies or nonresidents from holding land for speculative purpose. This made it impossible for the company to give valid titles to the land it was offering for sale.

But the company had greatly benefited southern Oregon. They had surveyed and mapped Umpqua harbor and notes of the survey were published with a report of explorations and discoveries of rich agricultural lands, abundant and excellent timber, valuable

[52] *Ibid.*, 175.

water power, coal and gold mines, fisheries, and stone quarries. Population was drawn to this part of Oregon by the published reports, and vessels began to ply between San Francisco and the Umpqua region. Ere long the towns of Gardiner, Winchester, and Scottsburg sprang up, and south of Winchester, between 1851 and 1853, a number of settlements were made, the most notable of which was that of Aaron Rose who became the founder of Roseburg. A trail was opened in 1851 over the mountains to Winchester, and was extended to the mines in the Umpqua and Rogue River valleys. "Long trains of mules laden with goods for the mining region filed daily along the precipitous path which was dignified with the name of road, their tinkling bells striking cheerily the ear of the traveler plodding his weary way to the gold fields."[53] At the session 1850-1851 Congress made appropriations for mail service by sea and land, a lighthouse at the mouth of the Umpqua River, and established a separate collection district. The discovery of gold in southern Oregon in 1852 led to a movement of miners from California, and for a few years these mines yielded well. As immigration into that section increased farms were opened and the permanent settlement of southern Oregon was assured.

Development at north and division of Oregon.— Meanwhile that part of Oregon north of the Columbia was growing and developing an independence of its own. The first American settlements on Puget Sound were made in 1846. During the next two years there was little increase in American population and commerce with the outside world amounted to nothing practically until the autumn of 1848. In the latter year the settlers abandoned their "shingle making and their insignificant trade at Fort Nisqually, to open with

---

[53] *Ibid.*, 183.

their ox teams a wagon road to the mines on the American River." By 1850 trade on Puget Sound was opened and this increased considerably by 1853 because of the demand for lumber at San Francisco. Olympia, Steilacoom, Alki, Seattle, and Port Townsend, though still in their infancy, were participating in this trade. Settlements had been made on Shoalwater Bay and Gray Harbor, and on the principal rivers which entered them, and at Cowlitz Landing. A town was surveyed at the Cascades of the Columbia in 1850, and trading establishments were made at the upper and lower falls. In fact "the map of that portion of Oregon north of the Columbia had marked upon it in the spring of 1852 nearly every important point which is seen there today." [54]

As early as 1851 a movement was made by the settlers north of the Columbia to organize a new territory. There was little or no opposition from the legislature of Oregon or from Congress. A memorial from the territorial legislature was drawn up in December, 1852, and forwarded to Congress requesting that a separate territory might be made of the country to the north to be known as the Territory of Columbia. Congress changed the name to Washington and extended the boundaries from a point near Fort Walla Walla along the forty-sixth parallel to the Rockies, making a nearly equal division of Oregon territory, and in 1853 the new territorial government was established. A census taken in that year showed Washington to have a white population of 3,965.[55]

Oregon at close of this period.—The conditions of the southern territory continued to improve and the population spread rapidly. By 1853 there were over twenty thousand people, most of whom were scattered over the Willamette valley on farms. The mania for

[54] *Ibid.*, 250, 251.
[55] Swan, *Northwest Coast*, 401.

town building which was at its height from 1850 to 1853 prevented the growth of any one town in particular. Oregon City was the oldest and had a population of little more than a thousand. Portland had grown to about two thousand. Salem, Corvallis, Albany, Eugene, Lafayette, Dayton, Hillsboro, and the newer towns farther south all contained less than a thousand each. The farmers were multiplying and prospering. In 1853 Meek and Luelling of Milwaukee sent four bushels of apples to San Francisco where they are said to have sold for five hundred dollars, and forty bushels in the same market the following year brought twenty-five hundred dollars. In 1861 Oregon shipped seventy-five thousand bushels of apples, but they no longer sold at the fabulous prices of earlier days.[56]

Bibliographical Notes

Settlement of Oregon: There is considerable material on the settlement of Oregon. The subject was discussed in the press of the country quite extensively before the people had moved into the territory in very large numbers. This is indicated by the numerous meetings held in the northern states preceding the presidential nominating conventions of 1844. Local accounts of some of these have been preserved in the newspapers of the respective localities.

The following works contain the most satisfactory accounts of the settlement: H. H. Bancroft, *History of Oregon,* 2 vols., San Francisco, 1886 to 1888 (Vols. XXIV and XXV of *The Works of*); James Christy Bell, Jr., *Opening a Highway to the Pacific, 1838-1846,* New York, 1921; S. A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon Territory,* 2 vols., Portland, 1905; Gabriel Franchère, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America in 1811-1814* (in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*); W. H. Gray, *History of Oregon, 1792-1849,* Portland, Oregon, 1870; Rev. Gustavus Hines, *Oregon, its History, Condition and Prospects, Containing a Description of the Geography, Climate, and Productions with Personal Adventures among the Indians during a Residence of the Author on the Plains bordering the Pacific while Connected with the Oregon Mission, Embracing Extended Notes of a Voyage around the World,* New York, 1859; Washington Irving, *Astoria,* various editions;

[56] *Overland Monthly.* I. 39.

Hall Jackson Kelley, *History of the Settlement of Oregon and the Interior of Upper California,* Springfield, Mass., 1868 (a bibliography of Kelley's writings compiled by F. W. Powell may be found in the Oregon Historical Society, *Quarterly,* VIII, 375-386); D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *Ten Years in Oregon,* New York, 1844; McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States,* VII (McMaster's is the best of the general histories on the West); Rev. Samuel Parker, *Journal of an Exploring Tour beyond the Rocky Mountains under the Direction of the A. B. C. F. M. in the Years 1835, 1836, and 1837,* etc., Ithaca, N. Y., 1842; Fred Wilbur Powell, *Hall Jackson Kelley, Prophet of Oregon,* Portland, 1917 (Reprinted from the Oregon Historical *Quarterly,* XVIII); Alexander Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River; Being a Narrative of the Expedition Fitted Out by John Jacob Astor, to Establish the Pacific Fur Company; with an Account of some Indian Tribes on the Coast of the Pacific,* London, 1849 (Reprinted in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*); the writings of Joseph Schafer cited at the end of chapter VI; J. Quinn Thornton, *Oregon and California in 1848,* 2 vols., New York, 1849 (another edition 1855); John K. Townsend, *Narrative of a Journey across the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River, and a Visit to the Sandwich Islands, Chili,* etc., Philadelphia, 1839; and George Wilkes, *History of Oregon,* New York, 1845.

The Oregon Historical Society *Quarterly* contains invaluable material on Oregon. Besides articles on various leaders, on the activities of missionaries, and on immigration, the society has reprinted important government documents and contemporary material in the form of copies of letters and newspaper articles, and has edited journals of early explorers and settlers.

CHAPTER X

THE ACQUISITION OF TEXAS

Early efforts to acquire Texas.—It will be remembered that John Quincy Adams, in his negotiations with Onis in 1819, endeavored to secure a boundary which would include Texas, but he failed in this attempt. He became president in 1825 and immediately began negotiations for purchasing the territory, in whole or in part, between the Sabine and the Rio Grande. The United States representative in Mexico, Poinsett, advised delay. However he was instructed by the state department at Washington in 1827 to offer Mexico one million dollars for the territory between the Sabine and the Rio Grande, extending west to the Pecos and north to the Arkansas. If Mexico refused to release so much territory perhaps he might secure a boundary at the Colorado by paying five hundred thousand dollars. These offers served merely to alarm Mexico and that nation demanded the recognition of the line of 1819 as a preliminary condition to any commercial treaty between her and the United States. To this the United States gave her consent, but she did not permanently abandon her effort to acquire Texas.[1]

Butler's interests in Texas.—The next attempt was made during Jackson's administration. His attention was directed toward Texas by Colonel Anthony Butler. Butler was an old friend of Jackson's who had come to Washington soon after the inauguration for the purpose of securing a position. He was familiar with

[1] Howren, Alleine, "Causes and Origin of the Decree of April 6, 1830," in The Southwestern Historical *Quarterly*, 1912-1913, XII. 383-387.

Texas and talked glibly to both Jackson and his Secretary of State, Van Buren, of conditions there. He prepared two papers on Texas, one giving an account of the geography and products of the country and the other setting forth arguments that might properly be submitted to Mexico to urge her to sell Texas to the United States. The presentation of these papers by Butler, who was then a speculator in Texas lands, seems to have first aroused Jackson's interest in the acquisition of that country.

Jackson makes an offer.—With these documents before him, on August 13, 1829, Jackson directed the Secretary of State to have Poinsett renew the proposal to Mexico for a change in the boundary as fixed in the treaty of 1819. The President favored a new boundary to be drawn along the watershed between the Nueces and the Rio Grande rivers, "north, to the mountains dividing the waters of the Rio Grande del Norte from those that run eastward to the Gulf, and until it strikes our present boundary at the 42nd degree of north latitude." [2] Poinsett was authorized to offer four million dollars for this territory; if it were impossible to procure it for that amount he might offer five million. Other boundaries were suggested, providing this one did not prove acceptable to Mexico, which would have brought less territory to the United States than the first one proposed. If any of the lines submitted were agreed upon, payment was to be made in proportion to the amount of land obtained.

Sentiment in the United States.—In his instructions to Poinsett in 1827 Clay suggested an argument that might be used in negotiations with Mexico, the purpose of which would be to show that nation that it was to her interest to surrender Texas to the United States. The increasing number of Anglo-Americans settling in Mexican territory, he said, who bore with them the

[2] Marshall, T. M., *The Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase*, 87.

political principles of their own nation must ultimately produce trouble. Poinsett was shrewd enough not to use this argument but its significance occurred to Mexican leaders and was magnified by them. In the United States the possible transfer of Texas was a subject of frequent written and oral discussion. A friend wrote Austin from Lexington, Kentucky, in the fall of 1829:

> We are all anxious to purchase Texas from Mexico and the subject is beginning to excite a great deal of warm discussion in our public prints. If Mexico will dispose of it on reasonable terms, I believe our government will no doubt be glad to obtain it, and I am sure will meet the almost universal desire of our citizens. The consequences to the holders of property in Texas would be very important and it would promote the happiness and prosperity of all the citizens of the province. A great many citizens of Kentucky would move to your settlement instantly if it were under our government.

Just a few days later a Texas colonist who had returned to the states wrote to Austin from Nashville, Tennessee:

> The prosperity of your colony . . . has now become a leading topic in conversation and one of the most interesting subjects of discussion in the political papers. A strong and simultaneous effort is at this moment making from one end of the country to the other to induce this government to purchase it. I incline to the belief that if the Mexican government will *sell,* this government will *buy.*[3]

Mexico was well informed concerning these facts. The discussions evidently became less frequent, however, when it was learned that Poinsett would not be able to conclude a treaty. He was then given permis-

[3] Howren, Alleine, "Causes and Origin of the Decree of April 6, 1830," in The Southwestern Historical *Quarterly* (1912-1913), XVI, 384.

sion to return to the United States and Butler was appointed to succeed him.

Jackson's instructions to Butler.—In a private letter to Butler dated October 19, 1829, Jackson had said:

> I have full confidence you will effect the purchase of Texas, so important for the perpetuation of that harmony and peace between us and the Republic of Mexico so desirable to them and to us to be maintained forever and if not obtained, is sure to bring us into conflict, owing to their jealousy and the dissatisfaction of those Americans now settling in Texas under the authority of Mexico—who will declare themselves independent of Mexico the moment they acquire sufficient numbers. This our government will be charged with fomenting, altho' all our Constitutional powers will be exercised to prevent. You will keep this steadily in view, and their own safety if it is considered will induce them to yield *now* in the present reduced state of their finances.[4]

Just two months later Butler arrived in Mexico. He had been there but a short time when Mexican newspapers published declarations that he was under instructions to purchase Texas for five million dollars. Editorial comments based on these declarations were not such as to encourage Butler to broach the subject. In fact the official communications which he received from Washington during this period indicated that the state department did not expect him to accomplish anything.

Reports of Poinsett.—The reports from Poinsett were doubtless responsible for the pessimistic views held by the officials in Washington. In a letter to Van Buren written in the summer of 1829, Poinsett had declared that it would be impossible for the United States to extend its "boundary south of the river Sabine without quarreling with these people, and driving them to

[4] Quoted in Rives, *The United States and Mexico*, I. 243, 244.

court a more strict alliance with some European power." [5]

The results.—The verbal reports made by Poinsett when he reached Washington in March, 1830, were equally unfavorable. Influenced by these communications the administration determined to change the instructions to Butler. On April 1, 1830, Van Buren wrote him that the President was convinced it would be wiser to postpone negotiations for the purchase of Texas until the public sentiment in Mexico became less hostile.

It is not necessary to examine the negotiations carried on by Colonel Anthony Butler. They are sufficiently well known. He was not qualified to handle delicate issues of diplomacy among a sensitive people like the Mexicans. The fact that a man so incompetent could find his way into an office of such importance and could remain in the position for a period of seven years is a sad commentary on the spoils' system introduced by Jackson and the new democracy in the spring of 1829.[6]

Attitude of Mexico.—In the meantime public sentiment in Mexico did not become "less hostile" toward the United States. When Bustamante established himself in office he selected as his Secretary of Foreign Relations Lucas Ignacio Alaman through whom the attention of the Mexican public was called seriously to Texan affairs. News had reached the Mexican officials that the offer to purchase Texas made by President Adams was to be renewed by President Jackson. As a result of this Alaman presented a report to the Mexican Congress in secret session on February 8, 1830. The subject of this document was the clearly manifest intention of the United States to take possession of Texas.

[5] Poinsett to Van Buren, July 22, 1829. In *House Doc. No. 351*, 25th Cong., 2d Sess., 286.

[6] For summary of Butler's negotiations *see* Rives, *The United States and Mexico*, I. 242-261.

The first part dealt with what he believed to be the policy of the United States, and the second with the means which he thought Mexico should adopt to maintain her hold on the territory coveted by the United States.

Alaman's report.—Under the first part of his subject he traced what he declared to be a uniform policy in the United States, a policy that had in less than fifty years enabled them to take possession of "extensive colonies belonging to European powers, and of districts still more extensive, formerly in possession of Indian tribes—which have disappeared from the face of the earth; proceeding with these transactions not with the noisy pomp of conquest, but with such silence, such constancy, and such uniformity, that they have always succeeded in accomplishing their views." He said they usually began by introducing themselves into the territory which they coveted. With or without the consent of the country to which the territory belonged they devised ways and means of establishing colonies there. These colonies grew, multiplied, became the predominant part of the population:

"and as soon as support is found in this manner, they begin to set up rights which it is impossible to sustain in a serious discussion, and to bring forward ridiculous pretensions founded upon historical facts which are admitted by nobody such as La Salle's voyage (now known to be a falsehood), but which serve as a support, at this time, for their claims to Texas.

"Their machinations in the country they wish to acquire are then brought to light by the appearance of explorers, some of whom settle on the soil, alleging that their presence does not affect the question of the right of sovereignty or possession to the land. These intruders gradually originate movements which complicate the political status in the country under dispute, and this is followed by such general dissatisfaction that the patience of the legitimate

owner will become fatigued and the usefulness of the administration and the proper exercise of authority will be diminished. Then diplomatic intrigue will begin."

Proposals were to be made, Alaman continued, to purchase Texas for five million dollars. If this were not accepted it was very probable that the next step would be to submit the matter to arbitration, and if this should happen the evil would have been accomplished and Texas would be lost forever.

Alaman then suggested a definite program to prevent such a loss: (1) he would send a sufficient number of troops to suitable points along the frontier to repel invasion and to check insurrection, and he would increase the Mexican population by settling convicts in the places occupied by troops. (2) He would colonize the country with people whose interests, language, and customs were different from those of the United States. (3) He would encourage the coasting trade between Texas and the rest of Mexico. (4) The colonization law of 1824 should be repealed, and authority over public lands should be taken from the states and given to the federal government. (5) He would send a commissioner to Texas to collect statistics on the colonists and then take any measures necessary "to preserve that part of the republic." [7]

Comments on the report.—In commenting on the first part of this report a recent scholar says that Alaman invented historical parallels to fit his theory and that they "were quite as foolish as his ideas about arbitration." [8] The course of events in Louisiana or the Floridas had not resembled the process he traced and the United States government had never taken any part in the settlement of Texas. In short, this part of the report was absurd. But when Alaman turned his at-

[7] A translation of the document is in *House Doc. No. 351*, 25th Cong., 2d Sess., 312-322.

[8] Rives, *The United States and Mexico*, I. 194-204.

tention in the second part to existing conditions in Texas he was on firmer ground, and his recommendations were taken up by Congress immediately. The law of April 6, 1830, was the result. But its administration under the Mexican government served only to stir up the Texans and hasten the day of final struggle between them and Mexico.

Austin opposes annexation to the United States.— While Jackson was trying to acquire Texas and the Mexican officials were organizing legal machinery to check United States aggression in that coveted area, what was the attitude of the settlers toward the former issue? According to one writer the leader of United States citizens in Texas put himself on record as definitely opposed to the acquisition of that colony by the United States. This was Austin, and a circumstance which led him to record his views on the subject was his great desire to persuade his sister and her husband to move to Texas. He wrote on March 28, 1830, advising them to pay no attention to rumors and ridiculous reports, but to come to Texas as soon as possible. There was nothing to fear from the Texas government or from any other, except from the United States. If the latter should acquire Texas and introduce its land system,

"thousands who are now on the move, and have not yet secured their titles, would be totally ruined. The greatest misfortune which could befall Texas at this moment would be a sudden change by which any of the emigrants would be thrown upon the liberality of the Congress of the United States of the North. *Theirs would be a most forlorn hope.* I have no idea of any change unless it be effected by arbitrary force, and I have too much confidence in the magnanimity of my native country to suppose that its Govt. would resort to *that* mode of extending its already unwieldy frame over the territory of its friend and neighbor and sister republic.[9]

[9] Quoted by Howren, "Causes and Origin of the Decree of April 6,

A similar opinion was expressed on the following day in a letter written by Austin to the political chief of Béjar. He declared that the federal government of Mexico had no constitutional right to sell Texas. The national government, under the law of August 18, 1824, could not give title "to one single individual for even one *vara* of public land in the state; how then could it sell all the land to a foreign power?" The land problem in Texas would be complicated by such a transfer, and Austin declared that he felt duty bound to inform his political chief of the "public opinion" on such "a particular of such grave importance to all the inhabitants of Texas . . . for it is possible that in Mexico they might believe that the new colonists desire to be transferred to the government of the north. . . . The new colonists desire no such thing, nor would they in any manner consent to a transfer to the Government of the North without the greatest number of previous guaranties."

Houston's view.—A different view is expressed by Sam Houston a little later. On February 13, 1833, about three years after Austin's communications, Houston, in a letter to Jackson touching the acquisition of Texas by the Government of the United States, said, that "such a measure is desired by nineteen-twentieths of the population of the province, I cannot doubt."[10]

Houston's view accepted by people.—These opinions expressed by two prominent leaders in Texas differed widely, but there can be little question about the comparative opportunities of the two men for drawing their conclusions. Houston had been in Texas about two months when he expressed this opinion. Austin had not only been in Texas for several years but he was in a better position than any one else to determine the

1830," in the Southwestern Historical *Quarterly* (1912-1913), XVI. 385, 386. This is consistent with the attitude taken by Austin in the Fredonian uprising which occurred about three years earlier.

[10] Quoted in Robert McNutt McElroy, *The Winning of the Far West*, 13.

public sentiment in the province. His colony composed the predominant element of the Anglo-Americans in Texas, and he was the foremost figure among them at that time. It is very probable, however, that the appearance of Houston accentuated, if it did not initiate, a movement for annexation. The sentiment of the people as expressed by Austin had undoubtedly changed by 1836. Writing to Secretary of State Forsyth from Velasco on September 12, 1836, Henry M. Morfit, the special agent sent to Texas by Jackson, said "the desire of the people to be admitted into our confederacy is so prevailing that any conditions will be acceptable which will include the guaranty of a republican form of government, and will not impair the obligation of contracts. The old settlers are composed, for the most part, of industrious farmers, who are tired of the toils of war, and are anxious to raise up their families under the auspices of good laws, and leave them the inheritance of a safe and free government." [11] The election held on the first Monday in September had shown an almost unanimous vote in favor of annexation. Austin, too, had changed his opinion completely by 1836. On November 18 of that year he instructed Wharton to make every effort to accomplish annexation, and a few days later, December 10, he wrote again that anxiety on the subject of annexation was "unabated." "The opinion in favor of that measure is much more decisive, if possible, than when you left. It is therefore expected that you will press the matter with as much earnestness as prudence will permit." [12]

There can be little question about the change in public sentiment in Texas regarding annexation between 1830 and 1836. The injudicious attempts made

---

[11] *House Doc. No. 35,* 24th Cong., 2d Sess., II. 26, 27.

[12] Garrison, George P., "The First Stages of the Movement for the Annexation of Texas," in The American Historical *Review,* October, 1904, X. 76, 77.

to enforce the law that had passed in 1830 as a result of Alaman's recommendations to the Congress of Mexico had antagonized the people from the United States who were in Texas, and it is probable that the appearance of Houston tended to unify and strengthen that feeling still further.

Texan independence and annexation.—Texas won her independence in the spring of 1836. In October of the same year a permanent government was organized with Houston as president. William H. Wharton was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the United States. The two main objects of his mission were first to secure recognition of Texan independence, and second annexation. Austin, who was Secretary of State, in giving instructions to Wharton, urged him to secure recognition as soon as possible and cautioned him against accepting any terms of annexation except by formal treaty, and privately he was instructed to sacrifice no principles in order to obtain annexation.[13] Wharton reached Washington and was received unofficially by Jackson on December 20. The following day he had a conference with Forsyth and was told by that official that the popular vote in Texas favoring annexation had embarrassed the government of the United States. If Texas were immediately recognized it would look as if an agreement had been made with the United States for that purpose. Forsyth thought that it would be much better in every way if recognition could be secured first from England or elsewhere.

Wharton's disappointment was increased when he read the President's message which was presented to Congress on the day following his conversation with Forsyth.

[13] Binkley, William C., "The Expansion Movement in Texas., MS., 33-35 (A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Ph.D. degree at the University of California.) *See* Austin to Wharton, November 18, 1836, in Garrison (editor), *Diplomatic Correspondence of Rep. of Texas*, I. 127-135.

United States Hesitates.—Prudence, therefore, seems to dictate [the message concluded] that we should still stand aloof, and maintain our present attitude, if not until Mexico itself, or one of the great foreign powers, shall recognize the independence of the new government, at least until the lapse of time, or the course of events shall have proved, beyond cavil or dispute, the ability of the people of that country to maintain their separate sovereignty, and to uphold the government constituted by them.

This was called "cold blooded" and "ungenerous," and Wharton declared there was nothing for him to do except "to operate with the President" and endeavor to have him quicken the action of Congress. "This I shall day and night endeavor to effect by using every argument that can operate upon his pride and his sense of justice." [14]

Jackson's private views.—In his private conversations with Wharton, Jackson made no attempt to hide his personal views on the subject of Texas. He favored recognition as he undoubtedly favored annexation, but he told Wharton that he wanted Congress to express itself favorably first. Such timidity was not characteristic of Andrew Jackson, but in this case it is not difficult to explain. He was influenced doubtless by a desire not to embarrass Van Buren's administration by committing the executive branch of the government to a policy which had not received the support of Congress. But the conversations between the President and the Texas minister evidently put heart into the latter and gave him a more optimistic view of the whole matter. Jackson, too, reached the point where he was willing to use Texas as a tool for acquiring a part of California. In an undated letter to Thomas J. Rusk, who was then acting secretary of state for Texas, Wharton said:

[14] Quoted in Rives, *The United States and Mexico,* I. 396. For a detailed account of the attempts at annexation made by Texas *see ibid.,* Chapter XVI.

General Jackson says that Texas must claim the Californias on the Pacific in order to paralyze the opposition of the North and East to Annexation. That the fishing interests of the North and East wish a harbor on the Pacific; that this claim of the Californias will give it to them and will diminish their opposition to annexation. He is very earnest and anxious on this point of claiming the Californias and says we must not consent to less.[15]

Texan independence recognized.—Texas could thus make the expansion problem of the United States more inclusive by adjusting her western boundary so that it would include California, but the independence of Texas would have to be recognized first. March 2, 1837, Congress authorized the President to recognize Texan independence whenever he considered it wise to appoint a minister to that government. This Jackson did at once.[16]

Annexation solicited.—Recognition gained, Texas agents in Washington could turn their efforts towards annexation, but first they must be received formally by the United States government. As it worked out this was to be delayed longer than they had anticipated. Wharton had reported before the inauguration of Van Buren that the leaders of the new administration were afraid of the subject of annexation because they believed it would become the leading issue in the next elections. The policy of the administration would be to postpone the question. The Texas representatives were formally received July 6, 1837. Five days later Hunt, who had succeeded Wharton as minister, wrote to Irion that he believed Van Buren would be ambitious

---

[15] Quoted in Binkley, *Expansion Movement in Texas, 1836-1850,* MS. 39, 40. *See* Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas,* I. 193, 194. The letter, Dr. Binkley thinks, was written probably on February 28, 1827.

[16] *Ibid.*, 40. Two years later France extended her recognition, and Holland and Belgium in 1840. Recognition by Great Britain did not come until 1842.

to distinguish his administration by acquiring Texas. Writing again on August 4 he was still hopeful and proceeded to address a long communication to the State Department in which he proposed annexation, gave a résumé of the history of both Mexico and Texas, pointed out the mutual advantages to be derived from such a course and the disadvantages likely to arise if Texas remained an independent power.

Whatever views Van Buren may have held on the subject of Texan annexation he kept to himself for several months following his inauguration. Hunt thought the President hesitated because he was "doubtful as to what course of policy would be most popular—for that course he will be certain to pursue as soon as it is fairly ascertained."[17] And in this conclusion the Mexican minister was probably right. But he did not have to wait long for a reply to his formal communication of August 4, regarding the administration's view of annexation. Forsyth's communication on the subject was dated August 25, 1837.

Solicitations Rejected.—After dismissing the historical facts presented by Hunt as irrelevant to the subject and stating the policy adopted by the United States in recognizing the independence of other countries, Forsyth took up the question of annexation:

> The question of the *annexation* of a foreign independent State to the United States has never before been presented to this government. Since the adoption of their constitution, two large additions have been made to the domain originally claimed by the United States. In acquiring them this government was not actuated by a mere thirst for sway over a broader space. Paramount interests of many of the confederacy, and the permanent well-being of all, imperatively urged upon this government the necessity of an extension of its jurisdiction over Louisiana and Florida.

[17] Hunt to Irion, August 4, 1837, in Garrison, *Texan Diplomatic Correspondence*, I. 246.

As peace, however, was our cherished policy, never to be departed from unless honor should be imperilled by adhering to it, we patiently endured for a time serious inconveniences and privations, and sought a transfer of those regions by negotiations and not by conquest.

The issue of those negotiations was a conditional cession of these countries to the United States. The circumstance, however, of their being colonial possessions of France and Spain, and therefore dependent on the metropolitan Governments, renders those transactions materially different from that which would be presented by the question of the annexation of Texas. The latter is a state with an independent Government, acknowledged as such by the United States, and claiming a territory beyond, though bordering on the region ceded by France, in the treaty of the 30th of April, 1803. Whether the constitution of the United States contemplated the annexation of such a State, and if so, in what manner that object is to be effected, are questions, in the opinion of the President, it would be inexpedient, under existing circumstances, to agitate.

So long as Texas shall remain at war, while the United States are at peace with her adversary, the proposition of the Texan minister plenipotentiary necessarily involves the question of war with that adversary. The United States are bound to Mexico by a treaty of amity and commerce, which will be scrupulously observed on their part, so long as it can be reasonably hoped that Mexico will perform her duties and respect our rights under it. The United States might justly be suspected of a disregard of the friendly purposes of the compact, if the overtures of General Hunt were to be even reserved for future consideration, as this would imply a disposition wholly at variance with the spirit of the treaty, with the uniform policy and the obvious welfare of the United States.[18]

Not only did the administration refuse to annex Texas, but virtually announced that the subject would not be considered further. Hunt was disappointed, and

[18] *House Doc. No. 40*, 25th Cong., 1st Sess., 11-15.

his reply to Forsyth was not entirely civil. For some time, however, he apparently expected that the American government might be influenced to reconsider the proposal. Forsyth was thought to be friendly at heart toward the proposition and Poinsett, the Secretary of War, was a firm supporter of annexation. In fact, the Cabinet was supposed to be acting cautiously for diplomatic reasons—principally out of courtesy to the prejudices of the North.

Uncompromising attitude of northern states.—But these early hopes which were aroused by representatives who were friendly toward annexation were soon dispelled by the uncompromising character of the opposition from northern and eastern states. Petitions were pouring into Congress from these sections, declared the Texan minister in Washington; and Irion wrote to Hunt in December, 1837, that he regretted "the presentation of so many petitions against Texas from the North Eastern states." He had "anticipated opposition from that quarter," but he was not prepared for the "determined and uncompromising" character of it.[19]

Hunt resigned early in June, 1838, and Peter W. Grayson was appointed to succeed him. Following this, Texan diplomacy in the United States took on a decided change. Grayson was told by Irion that if the United States Congress failed to act on the question of annexation before its adjournment the proposal was to be withdrawn. As it worked out Grayson did not go to Washington but was succeeded in August by Anson Jones to whom these instructions were repeated. In compliance with these orders Jones withdrew the proposal in October, 1838.[20]

New administration in Texas.—Mirabeau B. Lamar succeeded Houston as president of the Republic of

[19] Garrison, *Texan Diplomatic Correspondence,* I. 277.

[20] Binkley, *The Expansionist Movement in Texas,* 1836-1850, MS., 47, 48.

Texas in December, 1838. Not only did he refuse to attempt any negotiations for annexing Texas, but he declared he was unable to see any advantages to be gained thereby. His great ambition was to see Texas develop into a "great independent republic" [21] which should extend from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific, and "ultimately afford a highway for commerce to the Indies by way of Galveston and San Francisco." [22] These dreams of the President were evidently imparted to some of his ministers. Richard G. Dunlap, who was sent to Washington as minister from Texas, had been there but a short time when he began to grow enthusiastic over the possibility of securing California for Texas. "How would you like to have the boundary of the Republic to run to the Pacific so as to include California?" he wrote to Lamar, May 16, 1839. "This may seem too grasping, but if we can get it ought we not to take it and pay for it?" [23]

And so Texan statesmen apparently began to think of building up a republic of their own instead of spending further energy in attempting to have their territory annexed to the United States.

New administration in United States.—The presence and the influence of Andrew Jackson had hampered the Whig party for so long at Washington that they determined in the presidential election of 1840 to adopt the tactics of their opponents and nominate a military hero. The man chosen was William Henry Harrison of Tippecanoe fame. John Tyler of Virginia, a former Democrat who had recently joined the Whigs, was selected for the second place. These selections proved excellent for campaign purposes and the Whigs elected their candidates with an electoral

---

[21] Marshall, "Diplomatic Relations of Texas and the United States," in Texas State Historical Association, *Quarterly*, (1912) XV. 267.

[22] Rives, *The United States and Mexico*, I. 412.

[23] Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, I. 85.

vote of two hundred and thirty-four out of a total of two hundred and ninety-four. But one month after the inauguration Harrison died, and Tyler became president.

It did not take the Whig cabinet members long to learn that the new chief executive was still a Democrat at heart, and they began to send in their resignations. Webster remained longer than the others in order to conclude a treaty with Ashburton which would fix the northeastern boundary of Maine, and then he joined his former colleagues in retirement. Following his withdrawal an active campaign was undertaken for the "reannexation" of Texas.

Jackson no longer cautious.—Jackson was a private citizen at this time but he was still the leader of the Democratic party, and the Texas representative at Washington believed the old hero's influence over Tyler was paramount.[24] At any rate Jackson's interest in the annexation of Texas was apparently keener than ever, and in the new president the proposal found an eager advocate. Jackson's views on the subject were expressed in a letter to William B. Lewis written a few months after Webster's retirement. He said that he had been advised that Texas was then very willing to come into the Union. "I could obtain the cession in a week. We have a right now, Texas being independent, having been acknowledged by us, Great Britain and France, to treat with her as an Independent Nation, and annex her to this Union. The future safety of our country and its interests demand it. . . . We must regain Texas, *peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must.*" [25] England, he believed, intended to extend her claims and her influence over Oregon and over Texas. By securing an

[24] See Van Zandt to Jones, March, 1843, in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II. 137.

[25] Quoted in Robert McNutt McElroy, *The Winning of the Far West*, 60. The letter is dated, according to Professor McElroy, September 12, 1843.

offensive and defensive treaty with Texas she might secure the right to land and organize a formidable military force in that republic—a force of sufficient strength to take "New Orleans and reduce all our fortifications and, having command of the ocean, could keep the country a long time, and it might cost oceans of blood and millions of money to regain it."

With these sentiments, so far as they expressed a desire for annexing Texas, President Tyler heartily agreed. To fill the office of the state department which had been left vacant by Webster's resignation, he chose Abel P. Upshur. Upshur agreed perfectly with the President on the subject of Texas, and before his nomination was ratified by the Senate he had begun negotiations for securing that territory by urging Houston to renew his application for the admission of Texas into the United States.

Tyler's views.—As early as June 11, 1842, Tyler had expressed himself to the Texas minister in Washington as favoring immediate annexation.

> The only fear is its nonconfirmation by the Senate, two-thirds of that body being necessary to consummate a treaty. We are now casting about to ascertain the strength of the friends in the Senate, for annexation. There is a majority, but whether it amounts to the number requisite is doubtful. The President would act in a moment, if the Senate would assent.[26]

But when Tyler sent his message to Congress in December, 1843, he said nothing of the question of annexation. Jackson learned of this and wrote to Lewis December 15, 1843, approving the President's silence. He declared that it showed both prudence and wisdom. The proper course would be to secure first a treaty of annexation and present it to the Senate.

---

[26] Reily to Jones in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, I. 568.

Any other course would bring down upon him the abuse of J. Q. Adams and associates, and perhaps injure the negotiations. Houston will not oppose, as I believe, the annexation; he dare not . . .; did I believe otherwise I would write him on the subject, but I am convinced I could obtain it in a day. . . . To prevent Great Britain from getting it, or an influence over it, we must have it, peaceably if we can, but forcibly if we must.[27]

Texan diplomacy.—A few months later, February 17, 1844, the British representative to Texas, Charles Elliott, wrote to the Earl of Aberdeen, that he believed President Houston was determined "to sustain the durable independence of the country." [28] And indeed there were some in Washington who did not agree with Jackson in regard to Houston's stand on annexation. The reason for their belief was the conduct of Houston himself. The latter had instructed his representative in Washington, Van Zandt, on July 6, 1843, to take no further action at that time, with regard to annexation. It was evidently expected that Van Zandt would encourage the impression that Texas was now beginning to depend upon the friendship of England and France since her petition for annexation had been rejected by the United States. However, the remainder of the instructions declared that the real intention was "to simplify the question of the annexation of Texas to the United States" by first gaining the "acknowledgment of our independence" from Mexico. But the interpretation that had been given it by the authorities at Washington was doubtless as Houston had intended it should be. The administration was alarmed. Upshur immediately sought an explanation from Van Zandt regarding this surprising attitude of the Texas government, and it did not take long to come to a better

---

[27] Quoted in McElroy, *Winning of the Far West,* 61, 62.

[28] Adams, Ephraim D., "British Correspondence Concerning Texas," in Southwestern Historical *Quarterly,* XVIII, (1914-1915). 99.

understanding. Van Zandt wrote to his government that the question of annexation had taken an encouraging form. It had resolved itself into the question of whether or not Texas was willing to negotiate a treaty of annexation.

> The possibility of England's (as many believe) securing an undue influence in Texas, and thereby monopolizing her growing trade, seems to have touched the secret springs of interest so fondly cherished by northern manufacturers, and presented the question in a form hitherto unheeded. The West are intent on the occupation of Oregon, in order to wrest it from the grasping power of Great Britain—it is believed that the interest of the two questions of the annexation of Texas, and the occupation of Oregon, can be combined, securing for the latter the south and south-western votes, and for the former some northern and the entire western vote.[29]

It was true that the annexation fever which was to sweep the country in the election of 1844 had already begun to spread. The chances for success had not been so bright at any time since the Texas question was first considered, but Houston persisted in his policy of agitating it still more by playing England and France against the United States for the purpose of raising the sentiment for annexation to a point at which renewed annexation proposals might have even greater prospect of success. The letter sent to Van Zandt on December 13, 1843, containing new instructions indicated quite clearly that Texas was willing to accept a treaty of annexation if she had positive proof that such a treaty would be accepted by the Senate of the United States. But she was not willing to sacrifice her relations with England and France unless by doing so she could be assured that she would become a state in the American Union.

[29] Garrison. *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas,* II. 207-209, 221, 222.

Its effect in Washington.—This stand taken by Houston had its effect in Washington. R. J. Walker sent an appeal to Jackson on January 10, 1844, urging him to bring Sam Houston to terms.

> I think the annexation of Texas depends *on you.* Much as you have done for your country this would be the crowning act. It seems that your old friend, Samuel Houston, President of Texas, believes, that if he made a treaty with this administration, it would be regarded as an administration measure and fail. This is a great mistake. I believe the measure would receive the vote of nearly *every* Democrat in the Senate and many Whigs and I think *would succeed.* But delay the measure one or two years, and Texas is lost forever.

Walker concluded by requesting Jackson to write Houston urging him to give Van Zandt instructions to make a treaty of annexation, "or at least to make such a treaty if he believes it would succeed." [30]

Jackson complied immediately. His letter added to the pressure that was already bearing on the Texas administration. Houston had doubtless been opposed to annexation for a time during this period, but he could not withstand indefinitely the local public sentiment in its favor, particularly when it was accompanied by almost daily evidence of the eagerness of the American government for annexation. Before he would commit himself definitely to negotiating a treaty on the subject, he thought it wise to submit the whole question to the Texas Congress.

Reaction in Texas.—In accordance with this decision he sent a secret message to Congress on January 20, 1844, in which he said he had carefully refrained from expressing any opinion on the subject of annexation during his present administration, and for that reason

[30] This correspondence is quoted in McElroy, *Winning of the Far West,* 65-67.

he thought it would not become him to express any at that time. But he did point out that if any effort were to be made by Texas to secure annexation—he admitted that annexation would be desirable—and if such an effort should fail, it might seriously injure the existing relations with England and France and might greatly diminish the claims of Texas to the confidence of other nations and create distrust on their part. For these reasons he urged the utmost caution and secrecy on the part of the officials of Texas as to their true policy. If they could not obtain annexation, they might at least be able to enter into a defensive alliance with the United States. The United States Congress would probably formulate its Texas policy very soon, thus making immediate action on the part of Texas desirable. But the stand which the United States is to take should be known first. If Texas should "evince too much anxiety, it will be regarded as importunity, and the voice of supplication seldom demands great respect." Houston then suggested that an additional agent be appointed to the United States to "coöperate with our agent there."[31]

Negotiations.—Immediately after this Van Zandt in Washington was directed to begin negotiations for a treaty of annexation, provided he was sure that annexation could be obtained. If things were favorable in every way a special minister would be sent to act in conjunction with him. Before it adjourned on February 5, 1844, the Texas Congress appropriated five thousand dollars to cover the expense for an additional representative at Washington, and five days later Houston offered the place to General J. Pinckney Henderson. Other questions were settled favorably,[32] and Houston was able to write Jackson:

---

[31] Rives, *United States and Mexico*, I. 594. *See also* Justin Smith, *The Annexation of Texas*, 160-163.

[32] The main issue, which was favorably settled, was to have Texas as-

Now, my venerated friend, you will perceive that Texas is presented to the United States, as a bride adorned for her espousal. But if, now so confident of the Union, she should be rejected, her mortification would be indescribable. She has been sought by the United States, and this is the third time she has consented. Were she now to be spurned . . . she would seek some other friend, but all Christendom would justify her in a course dictated by necessity and sanctioned by wisdom.[33]

This was written in February, 1844. On the twenty-eighth of the same month the tragedy occurred on board the war ship *Princeton* in which Upshur, the Secretary of State, lost his life. John C. Calhoun was appointed to succeed him.

By the end of March the Texas officials had definitely thrown themselves upon the United States. This decision was made known officially in a despatch sent to the Texas representatives in Washington. They were therein instructed that if they were unable to conclude a treaty of annexation without going beyond the limits of instruction already given them, they might consider themselves vested with "discretionary powers to conclude said treaty upon the best terms possible."[34]

Jackson's anxiety.—But Jackson was still anxious about the subject. He wrote to Major Lewis on April 8, 1844:

Please say to Mr. Walker to push this matter—have the treaty made and laid before the Senate. . . . This will prevent Mexico from invading and be a barrier against the intrigues of Great Britain. . . . Say to him for me, and if you choose to the President, that delays are dangerous. Houston and the people of Texas are now united in favor

sured that if she made a treaty with the United States she would be protected by that nation against Mexico. *See* Rives, *United States and Mexico*, I. 595-609.

[33] Quoted in Bruce, *Houston*, 172, 173.

[34] Jones to Van Zandt, March 26, 1844, in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II. 266.

of annexation. The next President of Texas may not be so. . . . Obtain it the United States must, peaceably if we can, but forcibly if we must. . . . Having had some agency in bringing about this measure, I feel interested . . . that it should be promptly carried out in all good faith to General Houston.[35]

Writing to Aberdeen from Galveston, Texas, on May 8, 1844, William Kennedy said:

I have heard, and I believe truly, that General Jackson has used all the influence he possesses with the President of this Republic, as his old political and military leader to induce him to aid in accomplishing the annexation of Texas to the Union.[36]

Kennedy had not been misinformed.

In the meantime the treaty of annexation was progressing. Van Zandt and Henderson wrote to Jones that Calhoun had assured them everything would be done by the United States to protect Texas from the aggressions of Mexico;[37] and with this assurance they signed the proposed treaty on April 12, 1844.

Terms of the treaty.—Among other things the treaty provided for the cession of the whole of Texas to the United States. The public lands of the country were to be subject to the same laws which regulated public lands in other territories of the United States. All the public debts of Texas were assumed by the United States, and the amount and validity of them were to be determined by a commission appointed by the President of the latter. The citizens of the country annexed were to be protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, and as soon as possible they were to become citizens of the United States. Meanwhile

---

[35] Quoted in McElroy, *Winning of the Far West*, 67, 68.

[36] Adams, "British Correspondence Concerning Texas," in Southwestern Historical *Quarterly*, XVIII, (1914-1915). 310.

[37] *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, II. 269-273.

the laws of Texas were to remain in force, and all executive and judicial officers would retain their posts except the President, Vice-President, and heads of departments.[38]

Tyler's message.—Ten days later, April 22, President Tyler forwarded the treaty to the Senate accompanied by a message of defense. The country was to be congratulated, he said, on regaining a territory which formerly constituted a part, "as is confidently believed, of its dominion, by the treaty of cession of 1803, by France to the United States." The wealth of the Union would be increased, not only by the fertile soil and genial and healthy climate, but by the character of the inhabitants of the country to be annexed. To the northern section of the United States the message promised an extension of the coastwise trade and advantages to the manufacturing and mining interests through the proposed annexation; while to the southern and southeastern section it gave assurance of "protection and security to their peace and tranquillity, as well against all domestic as foreign efforts to disturb them; thus consecrating anew the Union of the States, and holding out the promises of its perpetual duration." [39]

Treaty unpopular.—But Tyler's conciliatory message was not effective. There was at least one prominent member of Congress, however, who apparently thought it would be. On the evening of the day it was transmitted to the Senate, John Quincy Adams confided despairingly to his diary: "This was a memorable day in the annals of the world. The Treaty for the annexation of Texas to this Union was this day sent in to the Senate; and with it went the freedom of the human race." [40] But while Adams considered its rati-

[38] *House Doc. No. 271,* 28th Cong., 1st Sess., 5-8.

[39] Richardson, J. D., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897,* IV. 307.

[40] Adams, *Memoirs,* XII. 13.

fication inevitable, Jackson was more skeptical. On April 7, five days before the President's message was sent to the Senate, Jackson received a letter from W. D. Miller, Houston's agent in Washington, telling him that there appeared to be a strong disposition among Clay's followers to postpone any definite action on the treaty by the Senate. On the other hand, Van Buren's friends were said to be heartily in favor of annexation, but it was impossible to determine how Van Buren himself stood in the matter.

> Much, very much, my dear General [wrote Miller] depends upon your continued efforts. . . . From the relation in which you stand to President Houston, enjoying in the fullest degree his confidence, and friendship, and I might add, even affection, you will be able to give those senators, with whom you might communicate, some very wholesome and available advice.[41]

Treaty Defeated.—But Jackson's efforts were in vain. The letters by Van Buren and Clay, published at the same time, both opposing annexation, served to defeat the treaty in the Senate, and to defeat both writers for the presidency.

Jackson becomes more active.—The activities of Jackson preceding and following this defeat have been admirably outlined elsewhere.[42] Before he had heard of the defeat of the treaty, on May 3, 1844, he wrote his friend, Major Lewis, that he hoped some of the members of Congress would have energy enough to present a bill, if the treaty failed, and pass it through Congress, a bill which would provide for annexing Texas to the United States. When news reached him that the treaty had been defeated, he "deluged Wash-

---

[41] McElroy, *Winning of the Far West*, 69, 70.

[42] *Ibid.*, Chapter III, especially from page 70 on. *See also* Rives, *United States and Mexico*, I. Chapters XXIII, XXIV.

ington with letters written to spur the President and the Annexationists in Congress to renewed effort . . ." He thought it looked as if England's and France's secret diplomacy was about to succeed, but he never lost faith in the ultimate success of the movement for annexation. It "must make a part of our Union, cost what it may, and then we place at defiance the threats of combined Europe of invasion." He reviewed the history of United States claims to Texas as a part of the Louisiana territory. The Florida treaty of 1819 was vigorously denounced, together with its author, John Q. Adams, for surrendering it. He insisted that it was the duty of the United States to defend and hold every foot of territory, as far as Louisiana's ancient limits. Although the treaty of annexation had failed, he asserted that the United States was still bound by the treaty of 1803, and he urgently reiterated his plan for bringing Texas into the Union by joint resolution.

Tyler favors admission by act of Congress.—This particular method of settling the Texas question had been suggested by Henderson, then acting as Secretary of State in Texas, as early as December 31, 1836,[43] and it had been discussed many times after that date. The treaty of annexation was defeated in the Senate on June 8, 1844, by a vote of thirty-five to sixteen. Several weeks before Tyler had decided that Texas could be admitted into the Union as a state by an act of Congress. He based his belief on that clause in the Constitution which gives Congress power to admit new states into the Union. And in fact he had assured the representatives from Texas at the time the treaty was signed that he would urge Congress to enact a law admitting Texas as a state, if the treaty failed in the Senate.

Political parties and Texas.—Meanwhile political parties were lining up their forces for the presidential

[43] Henderson to Hunt, in Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, I. 164.

contest of 1844—a contest which was to indicate that public sentiment favored the annexation of Texas. In May the two leading parties held conventions in Baltimore. The Whigs chose Clay unanimously, as it was known they would do, and Frelinghuysen was named for Vice-President. But among the Democrats opinions were not so harmonious. The majority of the delegates were pledged to vote for Van Buren, but some of them were opposed to him. In order to insure his defeat the two-thirds rule was adopted by the convention. On the first ballot Van Buren was thirty-two votes short of the two-thirds required for nomination under the new rule, and thenceforth he lost rapidly. Cass, his strongest opponent, began to gain. On the seventh ballot his success appeared probable, but he was unpopular with some of the northeastern states, and Van Buren's opposition would have rendered his success in New York impossible. An adjournment was therefore effected until the next day. During the night many conferences were held among the opponents of Cass to find some candidate to defeat him. James K. Polk of Tennessee was selected, and on the following morning was nominated on the second ballot by a union of the North and South. Wright of New York, a warm friend of Van Buren, was nominated for the vice-presidency, but he declined and the place was given to George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania. There was no ambiguity in the platform in regard to Texas. It declared that "the reannexation of Texas at the earliest practical period" was desirable. The followers of Tyler from various parts of the country held a meeting in Baltimore on the same day as the Democratic convention and nominated him. They named no one for Vice-President and they adopted no platform. At Buffalo the Liberty party, which had been organized in 1840, held its convention, and selected for its principal candidate

James G. Birney of Ohio. Morris of Ohio was nominated for Vice-President.

The attitude taken by the Democratic party and by his own followers on the Texas question encouraged Tyler to proceed with his scheme for acquiring that territory. He apparently had absolute confidence in the popular desire for expansion. Fifteen days after the adjournment of the Democratic convention and three days after the treaty of annexation had been voted down in the Senate, on June 11, Tyler published an appeal to Congress and to the people.[44] In this document he declared that Congress had ample power to accomplish everything that a formal ratification of the treaty would have accomplished, and that he felt it his duty to lay before the House of Representatives all the material he possessed which would enable that body to act intelligently on the subject. He had regarded annexation by treaty as the most suitable method of acquiring Texas, but if Congress thought it "proper to resort to any other expedient compatible with the Constitution, and likely to accomplish the object, I stand prepared to yield my most prompt and active co-operation." The principal question was not as to the manner in which it should be done, but whether or not it should be done at all. Upon Congress devolved the responsibility of deciding this question.

Texas in the campaign.—By this time the presidential campaign had begun and Tyler's message, although it came too near the adjournment of Congress to secure attention at that session, was an important factor in placing the Texas question first among the important issues in the campaign. It was impossible for Clay to soft-pedal or side-step the issue. His Raleigh letter had not strengthened his political position, and his explanation of that unfortunate epistle in the midst of his campaign completely destroyed any chance he may have

[44] Rives, *United States and Mexico*, I. 637-639.

had for attaining the presidency. The Democratic forces that had been divided and doubtful at the beginning of the campaign began to attain unity and confidence as the summer weeks passed. Tyler's candidacy was obviously an obstacle to the success of the party, and Democratic leaders became more persistent in urging his withdrawal.

> Mr. Tyler's withdrawal, at once, [wrote Jackson] would unite all Democrats into one family, without distinction. This would render our victory easy and certain, by bringing Mr. Tyler's friends into the support of Polk and Dallas—received as brethren by them and their friends—all former differences forgotten—and all cordially united once more in sustaining the Democratic candidates. I had such confidence in Mr. Tyler's good sense and patriotism, that I was sure he would withdraw in due time, as I believe him to be a good Democrat.[45]

A united Democratic party.—Tyler finally yielded and on August 21 withdrew from the contest. Democracy was now united and against it the most of the Whig speakers were unable to offer effective opposition. Webster was the only prominent member of the latter party apparently who had a definite and clear-cut view of the question. He took a decided stand against annexation because if carried out it would involve the extension of slavery. Clay wrote as many as six letters on the subject, but by them he lost many votes. He was responsible to a considerable degree for placing the balance of power in the hands of the Liberty party, and the latter used its influence to defeat the Whigs.

Results of the election.—But to say that Clay's defeat was due to the anti-slavery feeling of a minority should not be taken to mean that Polk's success was due to the support of the slavery element. It was accomplished rather by the strong expansionist sentiment of

[45] Niles, *Weekly Register*, LXVI. 416.

the West. With the exception of Ohio all the western and southwestern states were for Polk. The congressional elections resulted in showing an even more decisive victory for the Democratic party. Of the members elected to the new House of Representatives one hundred and twenty were Democrats and seventy-two were Whigs.

Annexationists throughout the United States took courage as a result of the election, but none were more jubilant than President Tyler. His congressional message in December, 1844, was one long strain of exultation. After commenting most enthusiastically upon the growing improvement in domestic affairs and declaring that foreign questions of vital importance to the peace of the nation had been satisfactorily settled, he came to the subject which appealed particularly to his triumphant spirit. This was Texas.

Effect of Election on Annexation Sentiment.—The decision of the people and the United States [he said] on this great and interesting subject, has been decisively manifested. The question of annexation has been presented nakedly to their consideration. By the treaty itself, all collateral and incidental issues, which are calculated to divide and distract the public councils, were carefully avoided. These were left to the wisdom of the future to determine. It presented, I repeat, the isolated question of annexation; and in that form it has been presented to the ordeal of public sentiment. A controlling majority of the people, and a large majority of the states, have declared in favor of immediate annexation. Instructions have thus come up to both branches of Congress, from their respective constituents, in terms the most emphatic. It is the will of both the people and the states that Texas shall be annexed to the Union promptly and immediately. . . . The two governments having already agreed . . . on the terms of annexation, I would recommend their adoption by Congress in the form of a joint resolution, or act, to be per-

fected and made binding on the two countries when adopted, in like manner, by the government of Texas.

Joint resolution introduced.—In accordance with this suggestion a joint resolution was introduced in the Lower House. Stephen A. Douglas, who was then a young member from Illinois, was among its principal supporters. The arguments which he urged to justify the annexation of Texas had been stated before the joint resolution came up for consideration: commercial advantages, a new market for northern manufacturers, and improved boundaries which would enable the country to protect itself against foreign powers more easily. But Belser of Alabama emphasized it as a natural step in the westward movement of the settlers, a step that it was beyond the power of Congress to check. The movement of settlers in the United States was naturally westward and westward it would continue to be until they had occupied not only Texas but the vast region beyond the Rocky Mountains as well. Congress might just as well attempt to stop Niagara as try to check this movement.

Resolution passed.—It was opposed by Giddings of Ohio, and by Winthrop and Adams of Massachusetts, but their efforts were vain. The resolution passed the Lower House on January 25, 1845, by a vote of one hundred and twenty to ninety-eight; and on February 27 the Senate accepted it by the close vote of twenty-seven to twenty-five.[46] The resolution had been slightly amended in the Senate, and was returned by that body to the Lower House on February 28, the question being upon the concurrence in the amendment made in the Senate. All discussion was omitted and the resolution in its amended form passed by a vote of one hundred and thirty-two to seventy-six. The joint resolution was

[46] Details of the struggle in Congress may be read in Justin Smith, *The Annexation of Texas*, Chapter XVI.

signed by Tyler on the following day, Saturday, March 1.

Substance of resolution.—The resolution finally adopted provided that Texas might become a state in the Union when her constitution was accepted by Congress; that four additional states might be formed out of her territory, with her consent; that any disputes which might arise over boundary would be settled by the United States through negotiations with the country concerned; that Texas should assume her own debt and surrender her defenses on land and sea; that the principle of the Missouri compromise should be extended to Texas; and that the President should have authority to complete annexation by negotiating with Mexico or by an agreement with Texas.

Resolution submitted to Texas government.—President Tyler hesitated to send the signed resolution to the Texas government. He had a conversation with Calhoun on the subject, and the latter expressed himself as heartily in favor of immediate action on the part of the President. Tyler said his only reason for considering delay arose from a feeling of delicacy to his successor. Calhoun thought that no feeling of delicacy should be permitted to stand in the way, and urged that action be taken at once. As a result of this conversation between the President and his Secretary of State it was agreed that a Cabinet meeting should be held on the following day, March 2. The Cabinet members were unanimously in favor of immediate action, but they thought it would be courteous to inform Polk of Tyler's idea on the subject. This Calhoun did but Polk refused to commit himself in any way. Instructions were forwarded then to the American agent in Texas, Donelson, directing him to give to the Texas government, as quickly as possible, the joint resolution as a basis of admission to the Union.[47]

[47] *Sen. Doc. I*, 29th Cong., 1st Sess., 32.

Mexican minister demands passports.—The Mexican minister in Washington had watched the proceedings of Congress with profound interest, and had expressed himself in a most vehement manner against the joint resolution. He declared the United States had committed the most unjust act of aggression which could be found recorded in the annals of modern history—the act of despoiling a friendly nation of a large part of her territory. He felt justified, therefore, in protesting most solemnly against the law which admitted Texas, "an integrant" part "of the Mexican territory," into the Union, and he closed by demanding his passports.[48]

This letter was written by Almonte to Calhoun on March 6, 1845, but by that time the old administration had given place to the new. Polk had already determined to adopt the action of his predecessor and to regard the annexation of Texas as an incident which had been practically concluded. In this view he was unanimously supported by his new Cabinet, and it was determined to go forward at once with the plan of annexation.

The new Secretary of State was James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, and to him fell the responsibility of carrying on the negotiations. Immediately after assuming his duties on March 10, he wrote to Donelson, the American agent in Texas, informing him that President Polk had no intention of reversing the decision of his predecessor in regard to Texas. The instructions sent by Calhoun on March 3 preceding were therefore confirmed, and Donelson was directed to use all his energy to obtain the consent of Texas to annexation.

Buchanan's letter.—Buchanan then turned his attention to Almonte, whose protest he had received. He declared that the admission of Texas into the Union as a state had received the sanction both of the legis-

[48] *Ibid.*, 38.

lative and executive departments and had been "irrevocably decided, so far as the United States are concerned. Nothing but the refusal of Texas to ratify the terms and conditions on which her admission depends, can defeat this object. It is, therefore, too late at present to reopen a discussion which has already been exhausted, and again to prove that Texas has long since achieved her independence . . . and now stands before the world, both *de jure* and *de facto* as a sovereign and independent State amid the family of nations." Under such circumstances, then, "neither Mexico nor any other nation will have just cause of complaint against the United States for admitting her into this Union." He regretted that the Mexican government had taken offense at what had been done, and he promised to use all his influence to arrange an amicable adjustment of every irritating question between the two governments.[49]

Attitude of Mexico.—Meanwhile the Mexican government had followed the presidential election in the United States with close and serious interest, and when the results were learned, the new administration of Herrera found itself confronted with the difficult problem of determining the proper course to pursue. The new minister of foreign relations was Cuevas, and among his first duties was to draw up the annual report of his department for submission to the Mexican Congress. In this the relations of Mexico to Texas were discussed at some length.

He frankly admitted at the outset that the separation of Texas from Mexico was a fact. It was due, he declared, to the disorders in Mexico and to the support given Texas by the government of the United States. The latter had gone further and had announced its intention of annexing Texas to the Union. Therefore Mexico had two questions to decide: the independence

---

[49] *Ibid.*, 39.

of Texas, and its annexation to the United States. The first, if it occurred, would be a misfortune, but the second might be fatal. It was therefore the intention of the Mexican government to undertake negotiations to fix definitely the relations between Mexico and Texas. The exact plans of procedure had not been formulated at that time, but nothing would be done which was contrary to the sentiments of the Mexican Congress.

At this point, about the middle of February, 1845, it became known in Mexico that the joint resolution for annexing Texas had passed the Lower House of the Congress of the United States. Cuevas consulted the British minister, Bankhead, and was urged by the latter to recognize the independence of Texas, but this, Cuevas said, the Mexican Congress would not consider, unless it was supported by both England and France. Bankhead replied that "any assistance from England must be a moral one, for that whatever disposition may at one time have existed to go beyond that line, had now been withdrawn." [50]

Cuevas did not submit his report to Congress until about three weeks later. In the meantime he added a paragraph informing that body that the House of Representatives of the United States had accepted the project of annexation, and that it then depended upon the Upper House "whether or no this iniquitous usurpation shall be carried further. . . " [51] But the Mexican Congress took no action in regard to Texas. On March 21 Cuevas received official word from Almonte that the United States Senate had passed the joint resolution of annexation. He immediately sought advice from Bankhead, and later he discussed the situation with both the English and the French ministers who urged moderation. On March 22 he made a formal report to the Mexican Congress on the subject. In this

[50] Quoted in Smith, *Annexation of Texas*, 420.
[51] Rives, *United States and Mexico*, I. 700.

he placed all the blame for existing conditions upon the former administration. On March 28 following he sent a communication to Shannon, the American minister in Mexico, in which he protested against the annexation of Texas to the United States, declaring that:

> The republic of Mexico will oppose it with all the earnestness which becomes its honor and sovereignty, and that its government trusts that that of the United States may more carefully weigh considerations of loyalty and justice than those of an increase of territory at the expense of a friendly republic, which, in the midst of its misfortunes, desires to preserve an unstained name and to deserve thereby the rank to which its destinies call it.[52]

In the meantime the scene of diplomatic activity is shifted to Texas. Calhoun's instructions to Donelson in regard to the joint resolution of Congress reached that official in the latter part of March while he was in New Orleans on leave of absence. He immediately returned to his post, arriving at the capital of Texas on March 30. On his way he had met the English and French representatives, Elliot and Saligny, who were returning to Galveston. These officials had been successful in concluding arrangements with the new administration of Texas which would make it more difficult for Donelson to accomplish his mission.

Relations between Texas and Mexico.—On March 30 an agreement had been reached between the English and French representatives on the one hand and the Secretary of State of Texas on the other, whereby Texas accepted the good offices of France and England "for an early and honorable settlement of their difficulties with Mexico, upon the basis of acknowledgment of the independence of Texas by that Republic." The President of Texas accepted the proposed intervention of

[52] *Ibid.*, 701.

the two powers, but he pointed out that conditions in Texas made it imperative upon him to place before the people of that Republic, as soon as possible, decisive proof of Mexico's willingness to acknowledge the independence of Texas. The administration of Texas further proposed certain preliminary conditions which were to be submitted to Mexico, agreeing that if they were accepted a proclamation should be issued announcing the conclusion of the preliminaries of peace, and that for a period of ninety days from the date of the memorandum, Texas would not accept any proposal, nor in any way carry on negotiations to annex itself to any other country. It was also stated that Texas, if her people so decided, was to be at liberty to pursue the policy of annexation instead of carrying out the proposed arrangements with Mexico, but in that case the Texas government agreed to notify France and England of these intentions.[53]

By the time he reached Galveston, the British minister, Elliot, received word that Mexico had already expressed a willingness to treat with Texas. He hastened to Mexico, arriving there about the middle of April. The proposals which he had received from the administrative officials of Texas were placed in the hands of Cuevas who laid them before Congress. But that body was slow in acting upon them. Not until May 17 had they been passed by both Houses and signed by the President. Provided with this document

[53] The terms proposed by Texas as a basis for negotiations were as follows:

1—Mexico consents to acknowledge the independence of Texas.

2—Texas engages that she will stipulate in the Treaty not to annex herself or become subject to any country whatever.

3—Limits and other conditions to be a matter of arrangement in the final treaty.

4—Texas will be willing to remit disputed points respecting territory and other matters to the arbitration of umpires. *See* Anson Jones, *Memoranda and Official Correspondence Relating to the Republic of Texas, its History and Annexation*, New York, 1859, 474, 475.

and with a letter from the French minister in Mexico addressed to the President of the Texas republic, Elliot returned, reaching Galveston on May 30. The Texas government was informed immediately of the official action taken by Mexico.

Texas faced by two proposals.—And thus it came about that Texas found herself in a position to choose between two propositions. She might become a state in the American Union by accepting the conditions submitted by the United States government or she might have peace with Mexico together with recognition of her independence (terms which she had proposed) providing she would agree not to annex herself to any other country. Texas decided in favor of the former.

As soon as the new Congress met in December, 1845, Polk informed that body that Texas had accepted the terms of annexation submitted in the joint resolutions, and had forwarded her proposed state constitution to the government of the United States for its approval. The President declared that the faith of both parties had been pledged to the proposed plan for annexation, and that the new state should be admitted into the Union without delay. A few days later he submitted official evidence to show that the new constitution had been ratified by the people of Texas, and thus it followed that the final settlement of the question of annexation devolved upon the American authorities.

Texas admitted into the Union.—The subject was presented to the House of Representatives by whom it was referred to the committee on territories. On December 10 Stephen A. Douglas reported a joint resolution declaring Texas to be a member of the Union on an equal footing with the original states, and that it should have two representatives until an apportionment could be made on the basis of population. It was made the special order of the day for the sixteenth, and was immediately forced through by a vote of one hun-

dred and forty-one to fifty-six. Meanwhile the Senate was considering a bill, but when it learned that Douglas's resolution had passed the Lower House, the judiciary committee of the Senate recommended that this be substituted for the bill under consideration. This proposal was accepted, and, on December 22, the resolution passed the Senate by thirty-one to fourteen. It was signed by the President on the twenty-ninth. The laws of the United States were extended formally over the territory of Texas, and a district court was organized. Then a collection district was created and provision was made for constructing postal routes.

Bibliographical Notes

See the references listed at the end of chapter five; the citations given in the footnotes of the present chapter; Ephraim Douglass Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas; 1838-1846* (The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1909, Baltimore, 1910); G. P. Garrison, *Westward Extension, 1841-1850,* XVII of A. B. Hart (editor), *American Nation: A History,* New York, 1906; William R. Manning, *Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Mexico,* Baltimore, 1916; Jesse S. Reeves, *American Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk;* and Justin H. Smith, *The War with Mexico,* 2 vols., New York, 1919.

CHAPTER XI

OREGON DIPLOMACY THROUGH 1846

The name Oregon was vaguely applied to that part of the Pacific Northwest lying between parallels forty-two and fifty-four forty north latitude. The elimination of the French, Spanish, and Russian claims to that region and the beginning of the controversy between England and the United States have been noticed. The Convention of 1818 had secured equal rights of the subjects of both nations in the disputed territory for a period of ten years, and in August, 1827, that agreement had been renewed for an indefinite period with the understanding that either party might annul it at any time after October 20, 1828, by giving twelve months' notice to the other contracting party.

Canning's opinion of early English diplomacy regarding Oregon.—While both nations laid claims to the entire territory the particular section about which the controversy centered was the Columbia River basin. George Canning, while foreign secretary of the British government and leader of the House of Commons, wrote a letter to Lord Liverpool, July 7, 1826, commenting upon the advantages which England had deliberately surrendered to the United States. He regretted exceedingly the "blunder" committed by the British government when it consented to restore Astoria following the War of 1812, a blunder which he hoped to be able to retrieve "if we maintain our present ground immovably. If we retreat from that, the ces-

sion of Astoria will have been but the first symptom of weakness, the first of a series of compliances with encroachments which, if not resisted, will grow upon success. There are two points—one of a political, the other of a commercial character—which I anxiously desire you to bear in mind in the discussion of this question.

First, that the ambitious and overbearing views of the States are becoming daily more developed, and better understood in this country. Second, that the trade between the Eastern and Western Hemispheres, direct across the Pacific, is the trade of the world most susceptible of rapid augmentation and improvement. Between China and Mexico, it is now going on largely. . . . We cannot yet enter into this trade, on account of the monopoly of the E (ast) I (ndia) C (ompany). But ten years hence that monopoly will cease; and though at that period neither you nor I shall be where we are to answer for our deeds, I should not like to leave my name affixed to an instrument by which England would have foregone the advantages of an immense direct intercourse between China and what may be, if we resolve not to yield them up, her boundless establishments on the N. W. Coast of America.[1]

Gallatin's estimate of British interest in Oregon.—However, the majority of the British officials were apparently not so interested in maintaining English supremacy in the Pacific Northwest. At least the United States minister, Albert Gallatin, did not receive that impression. In an explanatory letter to Clay written August 10, 1827, he gave what he believed to be Great Britain's real views in regard to the Oregon country. There was at that time no desire on England's part to establish colonies in the territory. The officials of the British government did "not believe that it will, when

[1] Quoted in Schafer, Joseph, "The British Attitude toward the Oregon Question, 1815-1846," in *American Historical Review*, XVI. (1910-1911). 291, 292.

once settled, long remain either a British colony or a part of the United States; that they do not think it, therefore, a matter of great importance whether it shall receive its inhabitants from Great Britain, Canada, or the United States; and that they are willing to let the settlement take its natural course." But they were not willing to make such a division of the territory as the United States had a right to expect, nor would they be willing to agree to such an apportionment for some time to come. Public opinion would not support them in such a measure. It was possible that something might happen which would "accelerate the settlement of a permanent boundary line," but it was not probable that it would be "done in a satisfactory manner until the citizens of the United States" should "have acquired a respectable footing in the country." In the meantime Great Britain felt herself bound to protect the establishments there which had been built up by British capital and enterprise:

> The Fur Company, though not perhaps as popular and favored as formerly, has still sufficient influence not to be disregarded. Of the monopolizing, rapacious, and unfriendly disposition of that company you are well apprised, and that it has been and will continue to be the principal bar to a definite settlement of differences in that quarter. But recollections of the high, though not very tenable ground assumed by this country towards Spain in the affair of Nootka, have also their influence. National pride prevents any abrupt relinquishment of her pretensions; but Great Britain does not seem indisposed to let the country gradually and silently slide into the hands of the United States; and she is anxious that it should not, in any case, become the cause of a rupture between the two Powers.[2]

During the administrations of Jackson and Van Buren practically nothing was done to settle the Oregon ques-

[2] *American State Papers, Foreign Relations,* VI. 694.

tion. The next action taken by Washington officials was to be at the point of pressure wielded by the people of the western country.[3] The movement of settlers into Oregon is treated elsewhere. It is sufficient here to remind the reader that American trappers and traders had become familiar with the country before 1830; that settlers began to immigrate a few years later; and that before the end of Tyler's administration, thousands of Americans were crossing the mountains to the fertile valley of the Columbia. They had friends in Congress. Within the limits of the United States were hundreds and thousands of others who knew neither emigrants nor Congressmen, but who were interested in the extension of the western frontier. The accumulated desires of all these people were back of Benton and others like him, and gave rise to the idea of "America from sea to sea."

Webster-Ashburton treaty and Oregon question.— In April, 1842, Lord Ashburton arrived at Washington to begin negotiations regarding disputed boundaries. Webster, who was about to retire from the state department, remained in office long enough to complete negotiations with the English representative. It was generally believed at the time that at last the Oregon question would be decided. But it was known that a partition of the country was the only possible mode of settling the issue in 1842. Webster spoke of adopting the Columbia River as a boundary, providing arrangements could be made by which Mexico could be induced to sell San Francisco Bay to the United States. To this plan Great Britain had no objection, but she expressed no desire to help the United States carry her point with Mexico. However, Webster modified his views ere long. He was a New Englander,

[3] The results of a study of this subject may be found in Joseph Schafer, "Oregon Pioneers and American Diplomacy," in *Essays in American History Dedicated to Frederick Jackson Turner*, New York, 1910.

and as such was much concerned in regard to the harbors of the Pacific; so that in June, 1842, when Wilkes's exploring expedition returned and reported that there was a dangerous bar at the mouth of the Columbia and that Puget Sound contained excellent harbors, Webster again thought of the advantages of a boundary along the forty-ninth parallel.[4]

Omission of Oregon in Webster-Ashburton treaty explained by Webster.—People who were interested in the subject were disappointed when they learned that the Webster-Ashburton treaty had been concluded in August, 1842, without settling the Oregon controversy. In a letter to Everett written in the autumn, Webster explained why a settlement had not been made. It was difficult, he said, to see on what principle or in what form an adjustment could be drawn. The convenience of the Columbia as a line of division was obvious, but its navigation was too inconvenient and uncertain. The United States would not have a suitable harbor on the entire coast if it were limited by that river, since the only good harbors between the Russian settlements and California were on Puget Sound. While England might want a good harbor in the sound she would doubtless want the privilege also of transporting furs and other commodities down the river. Probably she would also desire to retain the settlement at Vancouver and other small settlements farther north under her jurisdiction and protection.

> Does she want any more?
>
> I doubt whether she can contemplate any considerable colonization in the regions. I doubt exceedingly, whether it be an inviting country for agricultural settlers. At present there are not above seven hundred white persons in the whole territory, both sides the river, from California to latitude 54 north, and about twenty thousand Indians.[5]

[4] Rives, *The United States and Mexico*, II. 11.

[5] Webster to Everett, November 28, 1842, *Webster's Private Correspondence*, II. 153-156.

But after the conclusion of the Webster-Ashburton treaty, without reference to the Oregon question, British officials initiated a movement to bring the issue to a satisfactory conclusion. On October 18, 1842, Aberdeen wrote to Fox:

> It has appeared to His Majesty's Government that both parties would act wisely in availing themselves of so auspicious a moment to endeavor to bring to a settlement the only remaining subject of territorial difference. . . . I speak of the line of boundary west of the Rocky Mountains.
>
> On the receipt of this despatch, therefore, I have to desire that you will propose to Mr. Webster to move the President to furnish the United States' minister at this court with such instructions as will enable him to enter upon the negotiations of this matter with such a person as may be appointed by Her Majesty for that object; and you will assure him, at the same time, that we are prepared to proceed to a consideration of it in a perfect spirit of fairness, and to adjust it on a basis of equitable compromise.[6]

Both nations desire to settle Oregon controversy. This made it difficult for the President to ignore entirely the Oregon question in his annual message to Congress in December, 1842. He informed that body that the issue might not involve the peace of the two countries for several years, but he would nevertheless continue to urge upon Great Britain the importance of an early settlement. This way of stating the matter aroused Aberdeen's indignation.

> His mention of the Oregon question [wrote the British minister to a friend] was . . . most uncandid. When he talked of pressing us to enter into negotiation, he had in his pocket a most friendly overture from us, which he had already answered favorably.[7]

---

[6] *Senate Doc. I,* 29th Cong., 1st Sess., 139, 140.

[7] Quoted in Rives, *United States and Mexico,* II, 13, and notes.

Tyler's real intention was to send Webster on a special mission to England—an intention with which Webster was in full accord—but the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the Lower House refused to report an appropriation for that purpose. Webster resigned in May, 1843. On October 8, 1843, instructions were at last sent to Everett to open negotiations in London. Aberdeen had grown tired of waiting by that time and had arranged to send Pakenham to the United States for the purpose of arranging an amicable settlement of the Oregon controversy.

Local meetings on behalf of Oregon.—Difficulties in the way of a compromise had increased greatly by the time Pakenham arrived in the early part of 1844. Hostile resolutions were being passed by state legislatures and public sentiment in the United States was becoming inflamed. Indeed the year 1843 was notable for the pro-Oregon sentiment voiced in local meetings held throughout the country. The movement was due in part to the failure of Linn's bill for the establishment of territorial government and the granting of land to settlers, and in part to a rumor that Washington officials were willing to give up the region north of the Columbia to Great Britain provided she would persuade Mexico to sell northern California to the United States. In Pittsburg a large gathering, called to consider the question of emigrating to Oregon, was informed through its committee that it was not expedient for American citizens to go to Oregon until they could secure more adequate protection from their government. A meeting of citizens in Logan, Ohio, considered the wisdom of taking possession of Oregon at once, encouraging settlement, and driving the British out. After prolonged discussion a resolution was adopted declaring that the occupation of Oregon by Great Britain was an indignity which the United States had accepted too long already, and that the Monroe Doctrine declaring the

American continent no longer open to colonization by any European power was the acceptable doctrine for this government. Therefore the Conventions of 1818 and 1827 ought to be abrogated. A public meeting was held in St. Louis to aid in the settlement of Oregon. There was a strong sentiment expressed at the local meeting in Cincinnati against the surrender of any part of Oregon for an equivalent in California. Such an exchange would be dangerous to peace and would be a repudiation of the Monroe Doctrine. The same would be true if the Californias went into the hands of the British. At the same meeting it was proposed that a convention of southern and western states be held at Cincinnati on July 3, 4 and 5, to urge the immediate occupation of Oregon by United States troops, and to adopt measures which would induce the people to take possession whether the government did or not.

General Convention at Cincinnati 1843.—The general convention met in July, 1843. Delegates were present from several states in the Mississippi valley, and adopted resolutions declaring that the right of the United States to Oregon from forty-two to fifty-four degrees and forty minutes was clear and beyond dispute, that it was the duty of the government forthwith to extend the laws of the United States over Oregon, that emigration should be encouraged, that a line of forts should be built from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean, that a fleet should be maintained on the Pacific coast, and that that part of the Monroe Doctrine which declared against future colonization on the American continent was sound and true.[8]

All of this had a pronounced effect on the government, on politics, and on diplomatic negotiations. In March, 1844, Semple of Illinois precipitated a debate in the Senate by offering a resolution requesting the

[8] McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, VII. 294-296.

President to give notice terminating the Convention of 1827. An exciting discussion followed, but the resolution was defeated. Some of the speeches delivered in favor of it were doubtless intended to affect the coming presidential election and were probably so received by the Senate and by the people throughout the country.

Oregon comes into national politics.—At this stage of its development the Oregon question came prominently into national politics through its union with Texas as the principal issue in the campaign of 1844. It will be necessary, therefore, to consider briefly the Democratic convention and the presidential election of that year.

Democrats, slavery, and expansion.—The two leading parties held their conventions at Baltimore in May, 1844. There was no dissension among the Whigs, and that party nominated Clay without opposition. The Democrats were badly organized. The majority of the Expansionists in the country were within the ranks of that party, but they were divided among themselves over the slavery question. In fact the party as a whole was split into three factions: the southern, the northern, and the northwestern. The southern group was led by Calhoun, the northern by Van Buren, and the Northwest accepted the leadership of Cass, Douglas, and Allen in turn. Hannegan of Indiana was among its most brilliant and frequent spokesmen. The southern Democrats favored expansion providing slavery might be extended into the territory acquired. The northern group was bitterly opposed to slavery, and would have blocked westward expansion entirely if by doing so it could prevent the extension of that institution. The northwestern group were also antislavery, but not to the same extent as the northern. They would not oppose the extension of slavery into some of the territory acquired, but the amount dedicated to freedom must equal or surpass the acquisitions that were opened to

slavery. The lines separating these groups were drawn more sharply as a result of Tyler's treaty proposing the annexation of Texas in the spring of 1844.[9]

In their anxiety to acquire Texas the southern Democrats were eager to ratify the treaty of annexation, but the northern and northwestern groups opposed it. The motives actuating the last two were different, however. The northern faction opposed the measure because Texas was to be slave territory; the northwesterners, because this slave territory was to be acquired without the annexation of an equal amount of free soil. To meet the demands of the northern Democrats Van Buren came out against immediate and unconditional annexation. Calhoun considered bolting the regular Baltimore convention and running for the presidency as a southern candidate on a strictly southern platform in order to satisfy the southern faction.

Origin of "bargain of 1844."—It was at this stage that the northwestern Democrats came forward as pacifiers. They wanted Oregon. They may have been responsible for, and they had assuredly been encouraged by, the Oregon sentiment expressed in the local meetings and at the general convention in Cincinnati in July of 1843. They knew that that convention had laid the foundation for a political slogan of "fifty-four forty or fight." They remembered that an address to the southern states was sent out at the time the call for that convention went forth in which a bid was made for the support of the South on behalf of Oregon, but they also remembered that the South, "fearful of the effect of war with Great Britain on the cotton trade, and dreading the preponderance of free over slave states if Oregon were settled," [10] had contributed to the defeat of

---

[9] Persinger, Clark E., *The "Bargain of 1844," as the Origin of the Wilmot Proviso* in the American Historical Association, *Annual Reports,* 1911, I. 189-195.

[10] McMaster, *History of the People of the United States,* VII. 296.

the Oregon bill. They knew that the South wanted Texas, and the South knew that Texas could not be acquired without the support of some northern representatives.

The northwestern Democrats saw in this situation an opportunity for bargain. Accordingly they suggested that Oregon be combined with Texas in the party platform, in the presidential campaign, and in the subsequent action of Congress. If the southern Democrats would consent to this they would secure the support of northwesterners and enough of the northerners to restore party harmony and to secure victory in the coming presidential election.

"So originated the 'bargain of 1844'—the 'Oregon and Texas' plank of the Democratic platform of 1844—not as a mere appeal to the northern states in general, but as a definite means of party harmony and unity without the sacrifice of vital principle or interest by either the southern or the northwestern group of the party. The fact that such a bargain had been made was not published broadcast; in fact, it was kept most secret, but party leaders in the Northwest and Calhoun's lieutenants, if not Calhoun himself, knew of its arrangement and content."

Southern Democrats gain their part of "bargain." —The Democratic convention had hardly approved the "bargain" before the southern Democrats began to insist that their part of the contract be completed immediately by ratifying the Tyler treaty of annexation. This the northwestern faction was not ready to do. Senator Hannegan of Indiana explained his action later by calling the senators from Missouri and Tennessee to witness the fact that up to the time of the Baltimore convention he had been strongly in favor of the immediate annexation of Texas. "What I saw which induced me to apprehend a breach of faith at that convention, it is unnecessary at present to detail," he said.

"But my friend . . . knows that he repeatedly urged me to vote for the treaty, notwithstanding my apprehensions, and that I refused to do so, for I did apprehend that if Texas were brought in—if we annexed Texas without some definite action on Oregon—the Baltimore resolutions would be construed to mean all Texas and the half of Oregon with certain gentlemen"—and he repeated while looking at Colquitt of Georgia—"with certain gentlemen." This explanation made by Hannegan was confirmed by the senators from Missouri and Tennessee.[31]

The southern Democrats were chiefly interested in Texas in the election of 1844, but occasionally Oregon was joined with it in their campaign utterances. The northwestern faction pointed out the advantages of Texan annexation and "pledged the party faith to the 'whole of Oregon.'" When the election was over and the Democratic victory was complete, the southern group again urged the immediate annexation of Texas. But it was not possible to gain Texas without the support of the northwestern Democrats. To "nurse them along until Texas was out of danger" the southern faction appeared to support Oregon measures. It will be remembered that Texas was annexed during the last days of Tyler's administration, and then the southern faction refused "to discuss such important" issues as the Oregon question "so near the close of the session."

Southerners refuse to help the Northwesterners.—In December, 1845, when the new Congress assembled, the northwestern Democrats were ready to insist that the Oregon part of the "bargain" be carried out. In compliance with the suggestion of President Polk, whose election had resulted from a campaign which had as its slogan the "reannexation of Texas" and the "re-

[31] Persinger, Clark E., *The "Bargain of 1844," as the Origin of the Wilmot Proviso* in the American Historical Association, *Annual Reports*, 1911, I. 191.

occupation of Oregon," the Northwesterners introduced a series of measures providing for the final occupation of Oregon. The most important of these was the one giving twelve months' notice to Great Britain of the intention of the United States to abrogate the agreement which had been renewed in August, 1827. To their surprise Calhoun led the northern Democrats in opposition to the proposed notice. He believed the resolutions, if passed, would involve war with England.

This stirred the northwestern Democrats and brought a stinging denunciation from the abolitionist poet. Hannegan denounced the obstructionists. "Texas and Oregon were born the same instant," he said, "nursed and cradled in the same cradle—the Baltimore convention—and they were at the same instant adopted by the democracy throughout the land. There was not a moment's hesitation until Texas was admitted; but the moment she was admitted, the peculiar friends of Texas turned, and were doing all they could to strangle Oregon." Calhoun denied that he opposed the acquisition of Oregon. He considered Oregon as valuable as Texas. "If the Senator and myself disagree, we disagree only as to the means of securing Oregon, and not as to its importance."[12] But the apparently[13] candid reply of the southern leader did not hush the voice of criticism. In Congress other northwestern Democrats expressed their disappointment at the position taken by the southern faction,[14] and in far-off New England, Whittier addressed his lines "To a Southern Statesman," contrasting Calhoun's attitude toward Oregon and toward Texas:

> Is this thy voice whose treble notes of fear
> Wail in the wind? And dost thou shake to hear,

[12] *Congressional Globe*, 29th Cong., 1st Sess., 110.

[13] Calhoun was at this time advising Polk to settle the Oregon question on the basis of the forty-ninth parallel. Quaife (editor), *Diary of James K. Polk*, I. 313.

[14] *Ibid.*, 15, 125, 140, 143, 159, 289, 290 (January 10, 1846).

Acteon-like, the bay of thine own hounds,
Spurning the leash, and leaping o'er their bounds?
Sore-baffled statesman!

. . . . . .

It may be,
That the roused spirits of democracy
May leave to freer States the same wide door
Through which thy slave-cursed Texas entered in.

These were the discouraging circumstances under which Pakenham began his Oregon negotiations. Soon after his arrival in Washington he had written Upshur of the earnest desire of the British government to come to "an early and satisfactory arrangement" in regard to the Oregon question. In his reply Upshur requested the British minister to call on the morning of February 27, but on the day following their preliminary meeting Upshur was killed.[15]

British endeavor to settle issue.—Tyler and Calhoun were both in favor of letting the subject rest, but public opinion would not permit it. A "clamor was raised in relation to the subject throughout the country, which was loudest in the west, and nothing seemed to remain but that negotiations should be attempted."[16] Even so, negotiations did not begin until August 23. Calhoun's real purpose, as he explained, was to gain time, to *"have time to operate."*[17] The British government, on the other hand, desired a settlement. Aberdeen had instructed Pakenham to offer the Columbia River, "the last proposition made by the British negotiators in 1826," but to modify it by offering in addition a port or ports and some detached bits of territory north of that river. Aberdeen felt compelled to declare that the British "government would not be found disposed to

[15] *Sen. Doc. I*, 29th Cong., 1st Sess., 140, 141.

[16] Tyler to Calhoun, October 7, 1845, in American Historical Association, *Reports*, 1899, II. 1059, 1060.

[17] Calhoun to Mason, May 30, 1845, *ibid.*, 660.

sanction any further cession of territory." However, Aberdeen expected the Americans to reject this offer in which case Pakenham might offer in addition "to convert into a free port any other harbor either on the mainland or on Vancouver's Island, south of the 49 north latitude, which the United States might desire. You may even advance one step farther, and . . . declare that Her Majesty's government would be willing to make all the ports within DeFuca's inlet and south of the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, free ports." [18] Should these concessions be rejected, Pakenham was to suggest that the question be submitted to some friendly state or sovereign for arbitration; and finally, if this, too, were declined, to propose a renewal of the joint-occupation agreement for a period of ten years.

These instructions were written by Aberdeen on December 28, 1843. On March 4 following he addressed a private letter to Pakenham. This, it has been asserted, not only proves that Aberdeen did not expect the American government to accept the concessions that Pakenham was authorized to make, but contained in addition a very remarkable suggestion.

> Should my apprehensions be verified, you will endeavor, without committing yourself or your gov't, to draw from the American negotiator a proposal to make the 49th degree of latitude the boundary, with the proviso that the ports to the south of that parallel to the Columbia inclusive, shall be free ports to G. Britain. The navigation of the Columbia should be common to both; and care should be taken that the 49th degree of latitude as a boundary, is to extend only to the sea; and not to apply to Vancouver's Island.[19]

---

[18] These instructions are quoted in Schafer, "The British Attitude toward the Oregon Question," in *American Historical Review*, XVI, (1910-1911). 296.

[19] *Ibid.*

England must abandon Columbia River boundary.—"We shall not be far wrong in inferring from the above letter," is the comment of one authority on the subject, "that by this time the question before the British Cabinet was how to convince Parliament and the nation that the abandonment of the Columbia River boundary—Canning's boundary—was a political necessity unless Great Britain was ready to accept the stern arbitrament of war." [20] From several sources this fact was borne in upon the government. Everett, the American minister in London, had repeatedly told Aberdeen that his government would never consent to give up the forty-ninth parallel as a basis for settlement, and that the only modification that could be expected would be to allow the line to run through Fuca's Straits to the ocean instead of having it extend across the southern end of Vancouver's Island. Meanwhile Pakenham, in his letters from Washington, was confirming Everett's contentions.

Polk on the Oregon question.—The conferences between Calhoun and Pakenham which opened August 23, 1844, continued until September 24 following,[21] but nothing was accomplished in the way of settling the issue. The presidential campaign was under way when the conference ended, and a few weeks later it was known that Polk had been elected. The British government delayed instructing Pakenham further because it wanted to see exactly what position the new administration would take on the Oregon question. In his inaugural address President Polk made his position perfectly clear:

> Our title to the country of Oregon is "clear and unquestionable" and already are our people preparing to perfect that title by occupying it with their wives and children. . . . The world beholds the peaceful triumphs of the industries

[20] *Ibid.*, 297.

[21] *Sen. Doc. I*, 29th Cong., 1st Sess., 143-145, for protocols of conferences. The statement of the claims is *ibid.*, 146-161.

of the immigrants. To us belongs the duty of protecting them adequately wherever they may be upon our soil.

England stirred over Polk's Inaugural Address.—It was evident that the new president considered the declarations of the Baltimore convention seriously, and the words of his inaugural address gave the impression that he was emphatically opposed to any compromise with Great Britain. This impression was strengthened by the appointment of Buchanan as Secretary of State. The latter's uncompromising stand for the whole of Oregon in the spring of 1844 had made him conspicuous among the few radicals in the Senate who had insisted on all the territory west of the Rockies between the forty-second and fifty-fourth parallel. These things coupled with the loud talk of western senators and of the Democrats generally during the presidential campaign naturally attracted unfavorable attention in England. The President's message was made an issue by the opposition in Parliament for the purpose of discrediting Polk's government. The Prime Minister could reply to the attacks made in both Houses of Parliament only by saying to the House of Commons that negotiations were progressing, and he hoped for favorable results. But he was very sorry, he said, that the President in a public address should "have referred to other contingencies than" that of a friendly termination of the difficulties before the two peoples, and he concluded by declaring that "we have rights respecting this territory of Oregon which are clear and unquestionable. We trust still to arrive at an amicable adjustment . . . but having exhausted every effort to effect that settlement, if our rights shall be invaded, we are resolved—and we are prepared—to maintain them." [22]

Aberdeen explained in the House of Lords that Polk's inaugural address was not an official act of which

[22] Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, LXXIX. 198, 199.

foreign countries could take note. It was the intention of the British government to continue negotiations in a manner consistent with justice, reason, moderation, and common sense. In order to maintain peace they were willing to make the greatest sacrifices, but there were limits beyond which they could not go, and amid the loud cheers of the House, he concluded:

> We possess rights which, in our opinion, are clear and unquestionable; and, by the blessing of God, and with your support, those rights we are fully prepared to maintain.[23]

It was clearly evident that the injudicious comments emanating from the President, from the Secretary of State, from members of Congress, and from the public press had stirred up a dangerous spirit of opposition in England. It was not a question of the ownership of Oregon with Great Britain so much as it was a question of national honor. If once this feeling were aroused in the breasts of Englishmen, an amicable settlement of the Oregon question would have been impossible.

Buchanan offers 49th parallel; it is rejected.—It was evident that temper on both sides had been stirred. Under these very unfavorable conditions the conferences over the Oregon question were resumed in the summer of 1845. At the very beginning Buchanan presented the arguments justifying the United States claims to the whole of Oregon, declaring that they were based on discovery, exploration, and possession. But, he said, the President found himself embarrassed, if not committed, by the acts of his predecessors who had uniformly adopted the principle of compromise in all their negotiations. Therefore he had felt himself somewhat bound by the same principle, and he desired to make one more effort to adjust the controversy by proposing the forty-ninth parallel as the dividing line. In his lengthy reply Pakenham said that he did not feel at liberty to

[23] *Ibid.*, 122-124.

accept Buchanan's proposal because it offered less than what the British government had refused in 1826, and in conclusion he hoped that the United States would be prepared "to offer some further proposal for the settlement of the Oregon question more consistent with fairness and equity, and with the reasonable expectations of the British government." [24] On August 30 Buchanan replied by informing Pakenham that the United States would no longer feel itself under obligation to accept the rejected proposal.[25]

Polk takes a determined stand.—When he learned what had happened, Aberdeen expressed regret that the offer made by Buchanan had been rejected, and intimated to the American representative, McLane, that it might be accepted if it were changed slightly. Buchanan was so informed and concluded that new instructions would be sent to Pakenham which would result in the reopening of the subject by the British minister. Meanwhile he prepared himself for the expected interview by asking directions from the President. Polk ordered him to say that any proposition the British representative might make would receive consideration, but he was to give no intimation of the intention of the administration. In vain the Secretary of State endeavored to have Polk take a more encouraging position on the subject, for the President was immovable. He was satisfied with things as they stood, he said, and in his message to Congress he promised to take "bold and strong ground, and reaffirm Mr. Monroe's ground against permitting any European power to plant or establish any new colony on the North American Continent." [26]

Reaffirms Monroe doctrine.—In his first annual message to Congress, December 2, 1845, Polk took

---

[24] *Sen. Doc. I*, 29th Cong., 1st Sess., 170-177.
[25] Quaife (editor), *The Diary of James K. Polk*, I. 63.
[26] *Ibid.*, 62-65.

"bold and strong ground" on the Oregon question. He related the history of the controversy from the presidency of Monroe to the withdrawal of his recent offer of the forty-ninth parallel, and he recommended that Congress make provision for giving the twelve months' notice terminating the convention of August 6, 1827. He also advised that Congress immediately extend the protection of our laws over American citizens in Oregon, establish an Indian agency, provide for the building of stockades and block-houses along the emigrant route, and organize a force of mounted riflemen to guard and protect those who made the journey overland. This would not be a violation of the treaty with England, it would be doing no more for American citizens than England had been doing for British subjects in Oregon since 1821. When the year's notice expired American rights in the disputed territory must be yielded or firmly maintained. Obviously they could not be yielded without sacrificing national honor. It was equally clear that Great Britain's proposition, to give her two-thirds of Oregon, the free navigation of the Columbia, and all the valuable ports on the Pacific, could not be accepted. The extension of our settlements westward, the admission of new states, the spread of new principles, our increasing greatness as a nation—all of these had attracted the attention of the powers of Europe, and some of these had proposed a balance of power on the continent of North America to check our advance. Such interference could not be permitted on this continent, and if it were attempted, the United States must be ready to resist it at any and all hazards. In fact the time had come to reiterate the doctrine set forth by Monroe. The existing rights of European nations would be respected, "but it is due alike to our safety and our interest that efficient protection of our laws should be extended over our whole territorial limits, and that it should be distinctly announced to the

world as our settled policy that no future European colony or dominion shall with our consent be planted or established on any part of the North American continent."

Joint occupancy terminated.—The President's message was warmly approved by the people of the United States.[27] Near the close of 1845, Pakenham offered to arbitrate the question of a fair division of the territory, but this was declined by the American government, and he then agreed to arbitrate not only the question of territory but also that of title. This, too, was rejected and both sides anxiously waited. The critical weeks which followed brought a heavy sense of responsibility to the American government. The President permitted the British authorities to learn that he would not refuse to place before the Senate, for their previous advice, a proposition for a boundary which should be based upon the forty-ninth parallel and DeFuca's Strait, but that he would not consent to open the Columbia to the free navigation of British subjects under any circumstances. This did not move Great Britain to action. She waited with much uncertainty until Congress assumed a less hostile attitude. That body had passed resolutions so harsh in tone that the British government felt their modification a necessary preliminary to a renewal of negotiations.[28] On April 23, 1846, Congress passed in a conciliatory form resolutions authorizing Polk to serve a year's notice whenever he thought it proper to do so, and five days later word was sent to McLane ordering him to notify the British government of the termination of joint occupancy at the end of twelve months. This brought immediate response from the British government. In giving the House of Lords his

---

[27] For expressions from various newspapers throughout the nation *see* McMaster, *History of the People of the United States,* VII. 418-421.

[28] Schafer, "British Attitude toward the Oregon Question," in the *American Historical Review,* XVI (1910-1911), 298, 299.

reasons for such swift action, Lord Aberdeen said:

> When I saw that the Senate and House of Representatives had adopted Resolutions of such a conciliatory and friendly description, I did not delay a moment, putting aside all ideas of diplomatic etiquette, which might have led me to expect that some other steps would be taken on the other side; but, without waiting a moment, I prepared the draught of a convention, which was sent by the packet of the eighteenth of May to Mr. Pakenham, to be proposed for the acceptance of the United States government.[29]

The boundary suggested by Aberdeen was the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude as far as the Gulf of Georgia, thence south and west through the Strait of Juan de Fuca, leaving the whole of Vancouver's Island to Great Britain. Provision was made for respecting the property rights of the Hudson Bay Company south of the forty-ninth parallel. The farms, lands, and other property of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company north of the river were to be confirmed by the United States government.

Question settled.—Polk sent the document to the Senate on June 10, 1846, accompanied by a message placing upon that body the responsibility of deciding whether to accept or reject the British proposal. Two days later, at "about six o'clock" in the evening, he writes, "the Secretary of the Senate called and delivered to me a Resolution of the Senate . . . advising me 'to accept the proposal of the British government,' accompanying my message to the Senate on the 10th instant, 'for the settlement of the Oregon question.'"[30] The final treaty of partition was concluded and signed by Buchanan and Pakenham on June 15, and three days later it was ratified by the Senate, the terms "being the

[29] Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, LXXXVII. 1038. The text of the resolution as finally passed by Congress may be found in *Congressional Globe*, 29th Cong., 1st Sess., 720. It is also quoted in Chase, *History of Polk's Administration*, 48.

[30] Quaife (editor), *The Diary of James K. Polk*, I. 467.

same submitted by the latter on the 6th instant, by me submitted to the Senate for their advice on the 10th, and by that body advised on the 12th instant." [31] Its ratification brought to a close the long-standing dispute between the United States and Great Britain over the Northwest territory.

Bibliographical Notes

Negotiations between the United States and Great Britain over Oregon: The Oregon question has been discussed in the general histories of the United States. See particularly G. P. Garrison, *Westward Extension;* Hermann von Holst, *Constitutional and Political History of the United States,* 7 vols., Chicago, 1876-1892 (new edition, 1899), III; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States,* V, VI, VII (look in the index under Oregon). Other works, general in character, are H. C. Lodge, *Daniel Webster,* New York, 1884 (American Statesmen Series); William I Marshall, *Acquisition of Oregon and the Long Suppressed Evidence about Marcus Whitman,* Seattle, Washington, 1911; W. M. Meigs, *Thomas H. Benton;* and Roosevelt, *Benton;* J. S. Reeves, *American Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk,* Baltimore, 1907; Eugene Irving McCormac, *James K. Polk: A Political Biography,* University of California Publications in History, Berkeley, California.

Special accounts are given in H. H. Bancroft, *History of the Northwest Coast,* II, and *History of Oregon,* I; E. G. Bourne, *Aspects of Oregon History before 1840* in Oregon Historical Society *Quarterly,* VI; Thomas Falconer, Esq., *The Oregon Question; or, a Statement of the British Claims to the Oregon Territory, in Opposition to the Pretensions of the Government of the United States of America,* London, 1845; W. H. Gray, *History of Oregon, 1792-1849;* Robert Greenhow, *Oregon and California;* J. R. Robertson, *Genesis of a Political Authority and of a Commonwealth Government in Oregon, in Oregon Historical Society Quarterly* I; Wyndham Robertson, Jr., *Oregon, Our Right and Title, Containing an Account of the Condition of the Oregon Territory, its Soil, Climate, and Geographical position; together with a statement of the claims of Russia, Spain, Great Britain and the United States,* Washington, 1846; Joseph Schafer, *British Attitude toward the Oregon Question, 1815-1846* in the American Historical *Review,* XVI (1910-1911);

[31] *Ibid.,* 471. The text of the treaty is in *Treaties and Conventions concluded between the United States of America and other Powers since July 4, 1776,* 438, 439.

R. L. Schuyler, *Polk and the Oregon Compromise in the Political Science Quarterly,* XXVI; Wm. Sturgis, *Oregon Question;* Travers Twiss, *The Oregon Territory, its History and Discovery; Including an account of the Convention of the Escurial, also, the Treaties and Negotiations between the United States and Great Britain, Held at Various Times for the Settlement of a Boundary Line and an Examination of the Whole Question in Respect to Facts and the Law of Nations,* New York, 1846; J. R. Wilson, *The Oregon Question,* in Oregon Historical Society *Quarterly* I.

The correspondence between the United States and Great Britain which terminated in the Convention of 1818 is in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations,* IV, 348-407. Additional correspondence carried on by the United States with Great Britain and Russia pertaining to claims on the Northwest Coast is ibid., 851-864. The correspondence which resulted in the renewal of the Convention of 1818 is ibid., VI, 639-707. For additional material on sources see Channing, Hart, and Turner, *Guide* (1912 ed.), 438, 439.

CHAPTER XII

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE GREAT SALT LAKE BASIN

Purpose governing Mormon migrations.—While interest in Oregon was still at white heat there began the Mormon trek which has no parallel in the westward expansion of the United States. Emigrants had gone to Oregon to do missionary work among the Indians, to acquire land, to open commercial intercourse with the Northwest, or to satisfy a love for adventure. None of these were the primary motives actuating the Mormons when they migrated to the basin of the Great Salt Lake. They sought a place where they might practise unmolested the teachings enunciated by their prophet, but intolerant opponents in every community where they attempted to establish themselves finally compelled them to seek a Zion in some more distant land. However, they were not to cross the plains until they had exhausted the patience of their neighbors in a few communities within the settled area of the United States, and had come under the direction of a new leader.

The migration from Ohio to Missouri.—The Mormon Church was founded in New York by Joseph Smith in 1830. Hostility to its members developed at once, and the following year found Joseph and his intimate followers seeking a home in Kirtland, Ohio. Here he built a house and sent his followers by twos into the West to preach the gospel. Any who were engaged in missionary work in the East were to tell all who should be converted to flee to the West. Missouri became the promised land which the faithful were to inherit, and in June, 1831, the prophet and his followers left Kirtland temporarily. They were to travel in pairs

over different routes spreading their faith as they went. Joseph and his immediate companions went by wagon, canal boat, and stage to Cincinnati, by steamer to St. Louis, and thence on foot to Independence, arriving at the latter place about the middle of July, 1831. Independence was chosen as the new home for the faithful, and arrangements were made for taking possession of the land. Having given minute directions which would assist his followers at Independence in laying out and constructing the new city and temple of Zion, Smith and ten elders returned to Kirtland. It was their intention to retain a footing in the latter place for five years more, and they desired to send new recruits to Missouri.

An uncongenial environment.—During the first two years of its existence the church in Missouri was exceedingly prosperous. Its members increased from a handful to approximately a thousand. They had purchased land and provided themselves with homes. They consisted for the most part of small farmers, tradesmen, and mechanics, and many of them were shrewd in the management of secular affairs. But the peace and prosperity which they enjoyed during this period terminated suddenly. It may have been due to the jealousy of their neighbors or to the indiscretion of the saints themselves, but it was more likely due to a combination of both.

Persecutions.—During the early months of 1833 plans were discussed for disposing of the Mormons, and in July about three hundred people met at Independence to devise means for driving them out, because, it was said, they were a menace to the community. "They blasphemously pretended to personal intercourse with the Deity, to revelations, miracles, healing the sick, casting out devils, and other delusions; they are the dregs of society, held together by the acts of designing leaders, and are idle and vicious. They are poor. They

tamper with the slave and free negroes. They declare the Indian region to be theirs by heavenly inheritance."[1] These charges were denied by Parley P. Pratt, one of the Mormon leaders. He would admit that they were poor, but poverty was no crime. They had paid for the land they occupied. Their members were as good as their neighbors. They had not tampered with the negroes, and the county records would show that they were not addicted to crime. In regard to the Indian lands he said no violence or injustice was intended; but, if there were, "what record of robbery, murder, and treacherous betrayal could excel that already made by the people of Missouri and others in the United States for our example."[2] Denials, however, brought new charges. The people in Jackson County had determined that the Mormons should go and they were finally expelled from Independence. The persecuted sect then took refuge in Clay County and founded the community of Far West. They appealed to the governor of Missouri for protection in their new quarters but he recommended the courts as the surest and quickest way of attaining justice. The Mormons had no faith in Gentile courts and were becoming despondent when Joseph returned from Kirtland and renewed their spirit. He restored a semblance of order at Far West, but he could not still the accusing tongues. Even he was charged by some of his own traveling companions with "prophesying lies in the name of the Lord," and of misappropriating money.[3] He remained at Far West about a week and then returned to Kirtland.

The three of four years following the history of the Mormons in Missouri constituted a period of strife and

---

[1] Bancroft, *History of Utah*, 98. *See also* Pratt, Parley P., *Autobiography*, Chapter XIII.

[2] *Ibid.*, 99.

[3] Mackay, Charles, *History of the Mormons or Latter-Day Saints* (1854). 101.

contention. Their numbers increased, but so also did the unrelenting vindictiveness of their enemies. The struggle became so bitter and so widespread that the whole people of Missouri were lined up either on one side or the other. The panic of 1837 did not spare the saints. In the autumn of that year Joseph's bank at Kirtland failed. Its worthless paper was scattered over the district, and the prophet received a revelation commanding him to return to Missouri and establish himself permanently among his people in the West. His enemies declared that he left Kirtland in the night without making provisions for meeting his obligations. When he arrived in Missouri he found the church in confusion. Not only were they having trouble with their neighbors, but internal contentions were under way. Joseph was soon taken and imprisoned by his enemies. Meanwhile these same enemies expelled the saints from Missouri. In the middle of winter, in December, 1838, and January, 1839, they were driven out into the prairies and forests without food and with inadequate protection from the weather. In this plight they arrived in Illinois.[4]

Reception in Illinois.—The people of Illinois had witnessed the struggle in Missouri and many of them felt deep sympathy for the unfortunate Mormons. Indeed, the former took a stand in favor of the latter upon their expulsion from Missouri. Quincy was particularly friendly. A committee was appointed to determine the facts, and in February, 1839, reported that the Mormons deserved the kind regard and sympathy of the people. Money was raised by subscription to provide immediate relief where it was needed, and many of the saints found employment which enabled them to begin retrieving their fortune. They were encouraged still further by the appearance of their leader at Quincy in the early spring of 1839. He had escaped

[4] *Ibid.*, Chapter IV.

from prison, eluded his pursuers, and once more joined his people. "His rude but touching eloquence, his confident appeal to Heaven, his magnificent promises, his tact and skill, and the joy of the true believers that he was once more among them, all combined to restore confidence."[5]

Advisability of a community settlement. — The Mormons found agents in Illinois who were ready to do business with them. Some of these claimed lands under questionable titles which they were eager to sell to the saints on almost any terms, but the latter were not sure that they desired to undertake community settlement again. The failure of their attempts in Ohio and Missouri had made many of them skeptical about the success of any new scheme which proposed a distinct Mormon settlement. At the meeting in Quincy where the subject was up for discussion Bishop Partridge and other members openly expressed doubts of the wisdom of such an undertaking, and when Smith appeared on the scene a few weeks later his followers had already begun to scatter to various places about Quincy.

Smith's plans for a settlement.—Others might become discouraged as a result of the persecutions and business failure of the past, but the prophet did not belong to their number. He had heard of the attitude taken by his discouraged brethren in the meeting at Quincy, and he immediately began working with energy to offset what they had done. He did not intend to have his flock scattered, and to prevent it he determined to get land and to bring them together again. Two days after his arrival at Quincy, April 24, he presided at a church council which voted to instruct him to visit Iowa with two associates and select a site for a settlement. Meanwhile the brethren who could afford it were advised to move to the little town of Commerce and await developments. The agents reached there ahead of the

[5] *Ibid.*, 127.

brethren and purchased two farms on May 1, 1839. Other land in the vicinity was acquired and Smith found himself ready to make another attempt at establishing his followers in a permanent abiding place.

Nauvoo.—The town of Commerce had been laid out on paper in 1834 by the owners of the property, and on its northern border the city of Commerce had been mapped. Both enterprises had failed. When the Mormon agents arrived there were two frame dwellings, a storehouse, and two blockhouses in the place. These were included in the purchase which they made. A little later Bishop Knight bought a part of the town of Keokuk, Iowa, a town called Nashville, six miles above Keokuk, and a part of the town of Montrose four miles above Nashville and across the river from Commerce. An additional forty thousand acres were purchased in the vicinity, a town was laid out where the village of Commerce had been, and the new settlement was named Nauvoo, in April, 1840.[6]

Its growth and contentment of its people.—Again fortune seemed to smile on the perseverance of the prophet. His people had been welcomed into Illinois both for economic and political reasons. The population of the state in 1840 was 467,183, and its debt was over fourteen million dollars. An increase in the population would mean a decrease in the individual portion of the debt to be paid by each citizen. Also the year 1840 was one in which party feeling ran high throughout the nation. Both the Democrats and Whigs sought recruits who could cast votes. Victory in the state of Illinois might be determined by the united support of the Mormons. Smith realized these things and he was shrewd enough to make the most of his advantage. Nauvoo grew more rapidly than any former Mormon settlement. The persecution they had received in Missouri

[6] Linn, William Alexander, *The Story of the Mormons from the Date of their Origin to the Year 1901*, New York, 1902, 222-225.

had advertised the saints and brought them sympathy, financial aid, and an increase in membership from various parts of the United States and Europe. In January, 1841, the Prophet estimated the population of the settlement at three thousand. The *Times and Seasons,* on December 15, 1841, said Nauvoo was "a densely populated city of nearly ten thousand inhabitants." A letter in the *Columbia Advocate* (Ohio) of March, 1842, said that the city contained about seven thousand. Again the *Times and Seasons* for October of the same year estimates the population at fourteen or fifteen thousand.[7]

Whatever their number, the people were remarkably thrifty and enterprising. Besides their places of business within the city and their farms lying about it, they were also endeavoring to establish manufacturing. A sawmill had been erected on the Black River in Wisconsin for providing lumber for the Nauvoo mansion house and the temple. Their Wisconsin mills were estimated by a member of the church to have been worth twenty thousand dollars, and to have employed one hundred and fifty men.[8] "I do not believe that there is another people in existence who could have made such improvements in the same length of time, under the same circumstances," a visitor is quoted as saying. "Peace and harmony reigns in the city. The drunkard is scarcely ever seen, as in other cities, neither does the awful imprecation or the profane oath strike upon your ear; but, while all is storm and tempest and confusion abroad respecting the Mormons, all is peace and harmony here." And again: "I have heard them exclaim, 'How happy to live here! how happy to die here! and then how happy to rise here in the resurrection!' It is their happiness; then why disturb the Mormons so long as they are happy and peaceable, and are

[7] All of these are quoted *ibid.,* 227.

[8] Mills, H. W. (editor), "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," in the Historical Society of Southern California, *Publications,* 1917.

willing to live so with all men? I would say, 'Let them live.' "[9] And so probably would have said the people of Illinois, providing the Mormons had confined their ambitions and their interests to their own affairs and had observed the social customs of the community in which they lived.

Joseph Smith at the zenith of his power.—In his new "Holy City" on the bank of the Mississippi the Prophet had reached the climax of his earthly glory. He had been appointed mayor and he was the prophet and the president of the church and the general of the Nauvoo legion, both temporal and spiritual head of his people. His word was law, and for a brief period in his troubled career he enjoyed that supremacy which was the great object of his ambition. One would think, under such circumstances, that the ghosts of former experiences would have constantly hovered about Joseph and whispered caution in his ears. Shrewd as he was in some matters, in others he appears to have been tactless and utterly thoughtless of consequences. Perhaps he had begun to think himself immune from earthly dangers—or did he suppose it his duty to court them and play the role of martyr?

Smith aspires to the presidency.—The population of Nauvoo was almost entirely Mormon. Not infrequently the city, under the Prophet's influence, had assumed an attitude in its legislation which rendered it not only independent but even hostile to the state authorities. Governor Ford later said the system was "a government within a government, a legislature with power to pass ordinances at war with the laws of the state; courts to execute them with but little dependence upon the constitutional judiciary; and a military force at their own command to be governed by its own by-laws and ordinances, and subject to no state authority but that of the Governor."[10] The city denied the vali-

[9] Quoted in Mackay, *History of the Mormons*, 159, 160.
[10] Ford, *History of Illinois*, 265.

dity of the laws of the state, it was said, unless they were countersigned by Smith as mayor, and an ordinance was passed to punish any stranger in Nauvoo who should use disrespectful language in speaking of the Prophet.

Meanwhile his political ambitions expanded. Through the influence which he exerted over his people he had been instrumental in determining the election of governors and congressmen within the state of Illinois. He had visited Washington on an occasion and the interview which he had had with Van Buren tickled his egotism. The *Times and Seasons* for October 1, 1843, had an editorial entitled: "Who shall be our next President?" and urged the selection of Smith. The idea pleased Joseph because "it 'riled' his enemies in general, and his old Missouri persecutors in particular." He wrote letters both to Clay and Calhoun inquiring what course they would pursue toward the Mormons if elected, but their replies did not satisfy him, and on February 7, 1844, he issued an address to the American people in which he set forth his platform. The following May he wrote a stinging reply to Clay.[11]

Polygamy, division in the church, the Expositor.—By this time the Prophet's earthly career was nearing an end. His enemies in Missouri had not ceased to annoy him after he moved to Illinois, and in the latter state he had added to the number of those who had set themselves against him. In July, 1843, Joseph had received what is believed to have been his last revelation. This sanctioned polygamy, which had apparently been practised by some of the saints before they came to Nauvoo.[12] The promulgation of this new doctrine roused a sentiment against Mormonism amongst people who had been indifferent hitherto to the whole move-

[11] *See* correspondence *ibid.*, 165-167; and Linn, *The Story of the Mormons*, 251. A summary of the platform, Linn, *ibid.*, 252.

[12] Bancroft, *History of Utah*, 159, 160; for a brief discussion of the origin and practise of polygamy *see* Linn, *The Story of the Mormons*, Chapter X.

ment. Many men who cared little about the religious and political views of these people became bitter enemies when it was known that their social customs permitted a practise which struck a severe blow at the country's sacred institution—the home. Among these were some of the members of the Prophet's own community. They differed so strongly on the subject that they decided finally to establish a newspaper in Nauvoo to be known as the *Expositor* for the purpose of attacking the new order of things. Its motto was, "The Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth," and its prospectus declared its purpose to be to accomplish the "unconditional repeal of the city charter—to correct the abuses of the unit power—to advocate disobedience to political revelations."[13]

Death of Smith.—The only number the paper ever issued in Nauvoo made its appearance on June 7, 1844. The Prophet acted quickly, and three days later the marshal of Nauvoo entered the building where the *Expositor* had been printed and destroyed the press. The editors fled to Carthage, Illinois, for protection where they secured a warrant for the arrest of Joseph Smith and others. News of what had happened spread quickly and the anti-Mormon sentiment, which had been strong, became aggressive and determined. Public meetings were held at various places to give expression to the feeling of indignation which spread throughout the state. At such a meeting in Warsaw, in Hancock County, a resolution was passed declaring that the time had come when the followers of Smith as a body "should be driven from the surrounding settlements into Nauvoo; that the prophet and his miscreant adherents should then be demanded at their hands, and, if not surrendered, a war of extermination should be waged, to the entire destruction, if necessary for our protection, of his adherents." At Carthage also the

[13] Linn, *The Story of the Mormons*, 290-297.

feeling was tense. Governor Ford apparently did what he could to still the excitement and insure a just enforcement of the law. Smith was arrested and placed in the Carthage jail. Here during the last days of June he was murdered by a mob, in violation of the pledged word of the governor of the state and of the principal officers of the troops. The Mormons doubtless were guilty of many indiscretions and one can see how their peculiar views might make them obnoxious to the average American community, but nothing they had done could possibly justify the dastardly conduct of the men who committed this heinous crime.

Renewed persecutions. — The leadership of the saints now passed into the hands of Brigham Young who proved himself more practical in the management of church affairs than had his predecessor. Under his able direction the confusion and internal strife following the prophet's death was allayed, Young's rivals for leadership in the church were expelled, and Nauvoo became more prosperous than ever. The construction of the temple and the Nauvoo house were carried on with vigor. In this way the murdered Prophet's revelation would be fulfilled, and his enemies would be shown the divinity of his mission and the power, wealth, and perseverance of his disciples. Renewed persecutions had brought their quota of converts from many quarters. Brethren living in the eastern states sold their property and moved to Nauvoo, and some of the more zealous members of the faith began to call the place the Holy City or the City of Joseph.[14] Enthusiasm ran high among the saints, and from their neighbors came low murmurings of renewed persecutions. Insults on one side and retaliations on the other led to skirmishes, battles, and the loss of life. At a meeting of delegates from nine counties surrounding Nauvoo it was unanimously agreed that Illinois could not have peace so long

[14] Mackay, *History of the Mormons*, 204.

as the Mormons remained within its boundaries, and the representatives pledged mutual support in bringing about their expulsion, even if force had to be used to accomplish it. Following a series of struggles and negotiations the saints agreed to withdraw from the state "as soon as grass grew and water ran" in the spring of 1846, provided they should be unmolested meanwhile and that they should be given an opportunity to dispose of their property.

Mormon migration through southern Iowa.—Early in the year 1846 the great Mormon migration began. Beyond the Rocky Mountains, or among them, they hoped to find some fertile spot far removed from their enemies, where, like the Pilgrims of old, they might build a state patterned on their own conception of moral and spiritual justice. They made their leisurely way through southern Iowa, frequently securing such provisions as they needed from the settlers and paying for them in labor. "We were happy and contented and the songs of Zion resounded from wagon to wagon, reverberating through the woods, while the echo was returned from the distant hills." [15] Stops varying in length were made at Richardson Point, at Chariton River, and at Locust Creek; and Garden Grove and Mount Pisgah were laid out, named, and settled by some of the emigrants. The main body reached Council Bluffs, on the Missouri, in July, and a little later many crossed the river and established camps at Winter Quarters. In the vicinity others made temporary settlements on both banks of the river, and by autumn twelve thousand Mormons were there or on their way across the plains.

Mormons in the Mexican War.—About the time the Mormons left Nauvoo their agent in Washington was soliciting help from the national government. While

[15] Taylor, John, Letter in the *Millennial Star*, VIII. 114, quoted in Bancroft, *Utah*, 221.

still seeking such aid news came of Taylor's first two victories over the Mexicans. The Mormon agent, Elder J. C. Little, then addressed another petition to President Polk and offered the services of his people in the war with Mexico. The President accepted the offer and sent the elder west with despatches to Kearney, who was then at Fort Leavenworth, ordering him to raise a corps of five hundred men. In compliance with this order the troops were raised from the Mormons encamped at Council Bluffs about the middle of July. They accompanied Kearney overland to Santa Fé and thence to California, where they were mustered out of service, many of them finding their way back to their friends and families in the vicinity of Salt Lake.[16]

Movement into far West begins.—Throughout the winter of 1846 to 1847 the Mormons remained in their camps in southwestern Iowa and along the banks of the Missouri. The council had held meetings at intervals to discuss plans for further explorations, and in April, 1847, a volunteer company of young men was organized, headed by Brigham Young in person. It was made up of one hundred and forty men and three women, and equipped with supplies carried in seventy-three wagons. About the middle of the month this pioneer band began its long journey westward to select a site for their new Zion.[17] If none were found in

---

[16] Bancroft, *Utah,* 238-245: The "Circulars to the Mormons," pointing out the terms and inducements to enlist, were distributed among the saints at Pisgah and Council Bluffs by Captain James Allen. He had been sent by Kearney. A copy of the document may be found in Edward W. Tullidge, *The History of Salt Lake City,* 23.

[17] Frémont believed they chose the Great Salt Lake region as a result of his description of the country. When leaving there for the Columbia during his second expedition, he summarized the conditions: "I can say of it in general terms that the bottoms of this river (Bear River) and of some of the creeks which I saw form a natural resting and recruiting station for travelers, now and in all time to come. The bottoms are extensive, water excellent, timber sufficient, the soil good and well adapted to the grain and grasses suited to such an elevated region." *See Memoirs,* 239, 415, 416.

a reasonable time, the expedition was to select temporary quarters which might serve as a base for future explorations.

Route and order of march.—The Oregon trail extended along the south bank of the Platte, but Young followed the north bank. The ground was higher and offered better pasturage, and there was less danger from Indians. Then, too, the Mormons desired to avoid other emigrants, particularly those from Missouri. In some ways the order of march was like that of disciplined troops. The bugle roused them at five o'clock each morning and they assembled for prayer and had breakfast. Two hours later, at another call of the bugle, the day's march was begun and the company traveled about twenty miles. In the late evening the live stock was placed in a corral made by the wagons drawn up in such a way that an oblong enclosure was formed, with openings at both ends. Guards were stationed at these entrances, and the tents were placed on the outside near the wagons. At night the saints were summoned to prayer again by the bugle and at nine o'clock to bed. Sundays were given over to worship. They preserved order in marching and kept their guns ready for instant use.

Practical information collected.—Throughout the long journey information which might be of service to later emigrants was collected and carefully preserved. The country in the vicinity of the route traveled was carefully explored, and springs, grass, timber, and other objects which might be of service were noted.

An ingenious and accurate road-measurer was attached to a wagon, and a person designated to note the distances from point to point, and every feasible camping-ground was marked down—and a Directory for every rod of the road, admirably arranged and filled with useful informa-

tion, was published for the use of those who should follow.[18]

Arrival at Fort Bridger.—The little band reached Fort Laramie early in June, and halted for two or three weeks. Meanwhile they built ferryboats to cross the North Platte, dried meat for their journey over the mountains, and recruited their horses on the abundant grass in the vicinity. Soon after crossing the river they were overtaken by a company bound for Oregon who prevailed upon the Mormons to ferry them across the Platte, agreeing to compensate them with provisions. Following this profitable experiment a detachment of eight men was left by Young under the direction of Captain Grover, both as a means of obtaining supplies and money from the Oregonians and for the purpose of transporting the main body of the Mormons when they should arrive. The explorers then moved rapidly and a little south of what was known as the Oregon track, arriving at South Pass the latter part of June, about the time the emigrants usually crossed the Missouri. They skirted the Colorado desert and came into the Green River country. Here they met Elder Brannan who had sailed in the *Brooklyn* from New York for California with two hundred and thirty-eight saints the preceding February. The latter, the elder reported, were opening farms and raising grain on the San Joaquin River. After a brief halt the journey was resumed through the Green River country and Fort Bridger was reached. Thus far the advanced guard had not suffered severe hardships. The real difficulties of the trip were about to begin.

Bridger's account of the country.—Colonel Bridger gave a very discouraging account of the country into

[18] Gunnison, J. W., *The Mormons or the Latter-Day Saints, in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, History of their Rise and Progress, Peculiar Doctrines, Present Conditions and Prospects, Derived from Personal Observations,* Philadelphia, 1860, 135.

which the Mormons were about to enter. The region was declared to be destitute of timber and vegetation of all kinds except sage brush. The Bear, Cache, and Willamette valleys were exceptions, but these were already occupied, either by the white man or the Indian. South of Salt Lake one would find good country also, he said, a country in which Indians were raising as good wheat and corn as had ever been produced in Kentucky, but he would give a thousand dollars to any one who would raise an ear of corn in the Great Basin.[19] However, the Mormons were determined to find out for themselves the conditions of the country. They had no guide, but they pushed on directly west over the rugged spurs of the Uintah range until they came to Echo Cañon near the western slope of the Wasatch Mountains. An attack of mountain fever held them here for a short time, but Young's impatience would not brook a long delay. He ordered Orson Pratt to cut through the mountains into the valley with the strongest members of the party. Following these directions the little band came to Emigration Cañon—a narrow defile that opens on the table lands overlooking Salt Lake. From Fort Bridger they had followed pretty close the route taken by the Donner party. In fact this route was evidently used extensively for several years.[20]

What accomplished in few weeks.—Near where the Mormons had halted two small streams flowed down from the Wasatch Mountains and made the location seem a promising one. They arrived here July 23, and at once began to prepare for a late planting. The ground was so hard and dry that plows were broken in trying to turn a furrow. The saints thereupon dammed one of the streams and turned the water out upon the soil to soften it. This was the beginning of

[19] Clayton, William, *Historical Record,* IX. 58, quoted in Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West,* II. 173.

[20] McBride, J. R., *Route of the Mormons,* MS., 1, 2.

a system of irrigation which was used regularly thereafter.

We . . . have accomplished more this season—Woodruff wrote—than can be found on record concerning any twelve men since the days of Adam. We have traveled with heavily laden wagons more than a thousand miles, over rough roads, mountains, and cañons, searching out a land, a resting place for the saints. We have laid out a city two miles square, and built a fort of hewn timber drawn seven miles from the mountains, and of sun-dried bricks or adobes, surrounding ten acres of ground, forty rods of which were covered with blockhouses, besides planting about ten acres of corn, potatoes, and vegetables. All this we have done in a single month, and then returned to Winter Quarters all in one season, traveling over two thousand miles during the summer.[21]

Limited accommodations.—Within less than a month following the arrival of the pioneers a small force was sent back to meet the first division of the main body of the Mormons and guide them over the mountains to their new home. The latter consisted of 1,553 men, women, and children. They brought with them 2,213 cattle, 124 horses, 887 cows, 358 sheep, and a few hogs and chickens. They made the journey overland without serious difficulty, and arrived at their destination during the latter part of September. There was keen disappointment among them when they saw the scarcity of timber and the ground covered with white alkali and infested with lizards, rattlesnakes, and black crickets, but to return was out of the question and they set to work, determined to force a living from the desert. A few weeks later they were joined by other bands who had followed them across the plains. It was impossible for many of them to secure cabins for the winter, but they procured shelter by digging caves in the

[21] Woodruff, Wilford, *Journal*, MS., 78.

dry earth or by placing their covered wagon beds upon the ground and using these. In fact Howard Stansbury found the Mormons using the latter method during the winter of 1849. The wagons, "being covered, served, when taken off from the wheels and set upon the ground, to make bedrooms, of limited dimensions it is true, but yet exceedingly comfortable. Many of these were comparatively large and commodious, and, when carpeted and furnished with a little stove, formed an additional apartment or back building to the small cabin, with which they frequently communicated by a door." [22]

Salt Lake City.—Salt Lake City, or the City of the Great Salt Lake as it was called up to the time of its incorporation in 1851, was laid out on a magnificent scale. The streets ran at right angles and were a hundred and thirty-two feet wide with sidewalks twenty feet in width. The blocks were six hundred and sixty feet square and were divided into eight lots, each containing an acre and a quarter of ground. A city ordinance provided that each house should be placed back twenty feet from the front line of the lot, the intervening space being reserved for shrubbery and trees. Upon the square reserved for public buildings an immense shed was erected which would accommodate three thousand people. It was called The Bowery and was used as a place of worship until the construction of the temple. The houses were built of adobe or sun-dried brick, principally, making a very neat appearance and proving warm and comfortable during the winter months. As early as 1850 buildings of more desirable qualities were introduced, but they were few in number and multiplied slowly because of the scarcity of timber. As early as 1850, however, the wisdom of Brigham Young and his followers in selecting the location

[22] *An Expedition to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah*, 1855, 123.

for the city was evident. Stansbury was enthusiastic over the prospects.

> The irrigating canals, which flow before every door, furnish abundance of water for the nourishment of shade trees, and the open space between each building, and the pavement before it, when planted with shrubbery and adorned with flowers, will make this one of the most lovely spots between the Mississippi and the Pacific.[23]

The "starving time."—In March, 1848, Salt Lake City had a population of 1,671. There were 423 houses, and five thousand acres of land were under cultivation, one-tenth of which was planted in wheat. Young himself was among the number who had gone back to Winter Quarters on the Missouri in 1847 to guide the main body of the saints across the plains. This was done in the summer of 1848. The crops which had been planted in the spring were pretty nearly destroyed by the crickets, and the remnant that was saved provided inadequate supplies through the winter for the population with the summer's large accessions. The new arrivals brought the total number of people in the city to about five thousand. The winter was an exceptionally severe one, and fuel and food were both scarce. From February to July, 1849, three-quarters of a pound of flour was distributed daily to each person. In many instances families were reduced to digging the roots of the sego lily for food, and to removing the hides from the roofs of the houses to make a broth. The winter 1848 to 1849 has rightly been called the Mormons' starving time.

Relief.—From this distressing condition the colony was relieved by the discovery of gold in California. In the summer of 1849 the first gold-seekers arrived at Salt Lake, and the city of the saints soon became the half-way station on the route overland to the Pacific,

[23] *Ibid.*, 129.

and an important center of trade. Many an emigrant had overloaded his wagons with clothing, dry-goods, general merchandise, mechanics' tools and machinery, or had selected a heavy equipment instead of a light one, and by the time he reached the Mormon settlement was ready to discard all surplus weight. The emigrant's misfortune was the saint's opportunity. The gold-seekers, in "absolute disgust for their trains of merchandise and splendid emigrant outfits, gave the bulk to the Mormons at their own price." Sometimes wagons, cattle, and merchandise were received in exchange for a horse or mule outfit which could transport the gold-hunter more quickly to his destination.[24] The *Frontier Guardian,* in commenting on the conditions, said that pack mules and horses, "worth twenty-five dollars in ordinary times, would readily bring two hundred dollars in the most valuable property at the lowest price. Goods and other property were daily offered at auction in all parts of the city."[25] Flour brought twenty-five dollars a hundred pounds, and the wages of blacksmiths and wheelwrights rose to three dollars a day. Commodities which the Mormons produced sold at fabulous prices; those which the emigrants brought in from the states could be bought cheaper in Salt Lake City, in many instances, than they cost wholesale in New York. Money began to circulate. In October, 1849, the General Conference decided to organize a corporation to transport passengers and freight from the Missouri to California. The "Great Salt Lake Valley Carrying Company" was formed and proved profitable. The fare per passenger was three hundred dollars from Council Bluffs to Sutter's Fort in California, and the freight rate to Salt Lake City was twelve dollars and a half per hundred pounds.

[24] Tullidge, Edward W., *The History of Salt Lake City and its Founders,* Salt Lake City, 62.

[25] Quoted *ibid.*

Manufacturing introduced.—It was Young's ambition to make his people independent of the outside world as soon as possible, and in order to accomplish this he encouraged the introduction of manufacturing plants of various kinds. The General Conference of October, 1849, ordered the construction of a glass factory in the valley, and in a letter written in the same month and year to Orson Pratt who was in England, Young said the saints would have the material for cotton and woolen factories ready by the time men and machinery were provided to handle it, and Pratt was urged to send operatives and necessary fixtures as soon as possible. The summer of the following year Pratt urged the officers of companies in England "to seek diligently in every branch for wise, skillful, and ingenious mechanics, manufacturers, potters, etc." [26] By April, 1852, Young was able to announce that two potteries were in operation in the city besides a nail factory, a wooden bowl factory, and many grist and saw mills. A small woolen factory was under construction also.

Growth of industry.—Thrift, industry, and coöperation were Mormon characteristics. The mountain streams furnished water power which was rapidly utilized in the saw and grist mills that were constructed. Milldams were erected, roads and bridges were built, and canals were dug to meet the demands of the growing community. An "unfailing stream of pure, sweet water" flowed through the city, and "by an ingenious mode of irrigation, is made to traverse each side of the street, whence it is led into each garden spot, spreading life, verdure, and beauty over what was heretofore a barren waste." [27] The tithes due from all church mem-

[26] Quoted in Linn, *Story of the Mormons*, 403.

[27] Stansbury, Howard, *An Expedition to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah, including a Description of its Geography, Natural History, and Minerals, and an Analysis of its Waters with an Authentic account of the Mormon Settlement, etc.* Philadelphia, 1853, 128.

bers could be paid in labor, and many emigrants helped to pay their transportation charges in the same way. Some of the public buildings were constructed by labor supplied from these sources, as also was forged and cast the machinery used in flour and lumber mills. The iron for these purposes and for making farm tools was taken from the hubs and tires of discarded wagons. When produce and money were brought to the tithing office later, laborers were employed and paid in clothing and food. Employment on the public works had been the means of giving many an influential business man his start in life.

Distribution of lands.—Brigham Young made provision for a generous distribution of the land. Five-acre lots were surveyed as garden plots for the mechanics in the suburbs of the city, and beyond were farms of from ten to eighty acres, the amount of land in each increasing as its distance from the center of the city increased. There was common cultivation during the first year, after which lands were assigned, "each man drawing for his portion of the general inheritance. To the leaders who had plural wives and large families, a proportionate holding was awarded." [28] Lots of ten acres each were reserved for the temple and for public parks. No charges were made for the first distribution of land except a nominal sum to pay the expense of surveying and recording. After the assignments were made there were some attempts at speculation, but the offenders were sternly rebuked by the spiritual leaders. The profiteer in land—the modern real estate shark—was not tolerated among the saints. If sales had to be made, the first cost plus the actual value of improvements was all that could be charged the purchaser. A record of all transactions was kept by the Register. The early Mormons followed the theory that "land be-

[28] Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West*, II. 176, 177.

longs to the Lord, and his Saints are to use so much as each can work profitably." [29]

Industry encouraged.—An organization known as an agricultural society was established. Its principal functions were to teach new arrivals methods of irrigation, to encourage experiments in raising fruits and vegetables, and to offer prizes to the most successful farmers. In 1854 the territorial assembly offered a thousand dollars to any one who would discover a bed of coal within the vicinity of Salt Lake City. For the purpose of encouraging capital to invest in the country the terms of incorporation were made liberal. In 1853 the Deseret Iron Company was chartered, the territorial government and the church taking ten thousand dollars' worth of stock in the organization. The Provo Manufacturing Company in 1853 was authorized to raise a capital of a million dollars, and to use it in whatever manufactures they should think best, and for providing and maintaining such machinery, buildings, dams, watercourses, bridges, and roads as they might need. It was the custom of the bishops to instruct their flocks in the economical administration of their farms, and to read in public a list of all who were to be commended for superior husbandry. They also read a black list of the idle and indolent members of the community. These were "held up to reprobation, and threatened, in default of certain tasks allotted them being finished at the next visit, to be deprived of their lots and expelled from the community." [30]

The accomplishment of these things indicated organization. The commanding genius of it all was Brigham Young. He did the planning and the directing. He supported the weak, warned the negligent, chas-

[29] Gunnison, J. W., *The Mormons, or the Latter-day Saints, in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake; a History of their Rise and Progress, Peculiar Doctrines, Present Conditions and Prospects, Derived from Personal Observation,* Philadelphia, 1860. 145, 146.

[30] Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West,* II. 181, 182.

tened the indolent, and encouraged and rewarded the industrious. His word was the law of the land, and throughout his life he remained the autocrat of the Mormons, both religiously and politically.

Early government.—Between the autumn of 1847 and March, 1849, the saints in the Great Basin had no political machinery. The government was purely ecclesiastical. There were secular officials, to be sure, who were authorized to levy and collect taxes, and to perform various functions of a civil character, and there were also peace officers, but culprits were tried before Bishops' Courts and the High Council. Even the secular officials were, as a rule, chosen by the people at their religious meetings over which apostles or elders presided. Usually the nominations were made from the platform by some prominent official of the church, and the members of the congregation expressed their approval by a show of hands.[31] This means simply that ecclesiastical machinery was used to select members of the church to perform political duties.

In the early months of 1849 a call was issued for a convention to consider the political needs of the community. It was issued to "all the citizens of that portion of upper California lying east of the Sierra Nevada Mountains," and early in March delegates assembled at Salt Lake City. They determined to petition Congress for a territorial government which should serve temporarily while Congress acted. This apparently was understood when a committee was appointed to draw up and report a constitution for the temporary state of Deseret.

Constitution of the State of Deseret.—Before the middle of March the committee had submitted a constitution and it had been accepted by the convention. This document provided that the seat of government

[31] Whitney, Orson F., *History of Utah*, 4 vols., Salt Lake City, 1892-1893, I. 389.

should be at Salt Lake City and that the powers should be divided among the executive, legislative, and judicial departments. The legislature was to be biennial and its members, in both houses, were to be elected by the people. Sessions were to be annual, the first one early in July, 1849, and regularly thereafter on the first Monday in December. Members of the lower house must be at least twenty-five years old and were to be elected biennially. Members of the senate were to be at least thirty years of age and were to be elected for a period of four years. An oath to support the Constitution of the United States and of the state of Deseret was required of all members of the legislative assembly. The governor was to be elected for a period of four years, and there was to be a lieutenant-governor, a secretary of state, an auditor, and a treasurer. The chief justice of the supreme court and his associates were to be elected by the legislature and were to hold office for four years. Such inferior tribunals as were needed should be created by the legislature. The Mormons had learned the importance of having forces prepared for military service. A state militia including all the men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five who were not exempt from military duty, was to be organized, equipped, armed, and trained immediately. Later the age requirement was changed so that the militia included youths under eighteen and a company known as "Silver Greys" who were over forty-five.

Boundaries.—The boundaries for the state of Deseret were extensive. They were drawn to include not only the present state of Utah, but all of Arizona, nearly all of Nevada, the whole of southern California, and parts of Idaho, Wyoming, and Colorado.[32] The seaport of San Diego was included in order to make Salt Lake City more accessible to new converts who desired to move there. It must be remembered that the saints had

[32] *Ibid.*, 393-395.

energetic missionaries spreading their faith not only in the eastern states but in numerous foreign countries, and that facilities were provided for transporting them to the new Zion as economically as possible. It was believed that the trip by way of the isthmus to San Diego and thence overland to Salt Lake City would be easier than a journey across the plains.

Efficient government.—Officers for the provisional government were elected on March 12, 1849, with Brigham Young, President of all the Mormons, as governor. The lieutenant-governor was Young's first ecclesiastical councilor and the secretary of state was his second, and the bishops of all the wards became justices of the peace. Under such circumstances the intimate relationship which existed between church and state is perfectly obvious. However, the political machinery of the temporary state of Deseret worked efficiently even if it was administered by ecclesiastical officials. It operated consistently, vigorously, and equitably over all who came under its jurisdiction. Howard Stansbury testified to this both from personal experience and from observation. Upon looking about for twenty of his mules one "fine morning" he found them "safely secured in the public pound, for trespassing upon the cornfield of some pious saint," and they were not returned until he had paid the fine imposed by the magistrate, and compensated "the owner for the damage done to his crops." Appeals were frequently made to the Mormon courts by companies of emigrants passing through, "who, having fallen out of the way, could not agree upon a division of their property. The decisions were remarkable for fairness and impartiality, and if not submitted to, were sternly enforced by the whole power of the community. Appeals for protection from oppression, by those passing through their midst, were not made in vain; and I know of at least one instance in which the marshal of the State was

despatched, with an adequate force, nearly two hundred miles into the western desert in pursuit of some miscreants who had stolen off with nearly the whole outfit of a party of emigrants. He pursued and brought them back to the city, and the plundered property was restored to its rightful owners." [33]

Deseret seeks admission to Union.—When the legislature of Deseret assembled in July, 1849, plans were completed for seeking admission into the Union. A memorial was adopted by the legislature and signed by citizens, and Almon W. Babbitt was elected a delegate to Congress. A little later a plan was submitted which would have secured the admission of Deseret and California as one state with the understanding that they were to separate subsequently and form two distinct commonwealths, but nothing resulted from the proposal.[34] Babbitt arrived in Washington late in 1849 bearing the memorial and a copy of the constitution of Deseret. These documents were presented to the Senate by Douglas on December 27, and a month later were referred by that body to the Committee on Territories. At about the same time an "anti-Mormon or anti-Deseret" memorial was placed before the same body by Senator Joseph R. Underwood of Kentucky. This document claimed that the persons whose names it bore were the real representatives of the church of latter day saints. Among those who had signed it was William Smith, brother of the prophet, who had been expelled from the Mormon church at Nauvoo. This may have had something to do with hastening the atti-

[33] Stansbury, *An Expedition to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake,* 130, 131.

[34] For the attitude taken by the officials of Deseret regarding the union with California, *see* the letter written by Young, Kimball, and Richards to M. Lyman, dated at Great Salt Lake City, September 6, 1849, quoted in Whitney, *History of Utah,* I. 408-410; or Goodwin, *Establishment of State Government in California,* 153, 154, note 2. A summary of the scheme may be found in Goodwin, *ibid.,* 160-163. The proposal was ignored by California.

tude of Congress, but that body would probably have refused to admit Deseret to the Union any way. However, the government of Deseret continued to function until Congress passed a bill providing for the organization of the territory of Utah.

Becomes Utah territory.—Among the compromise measures of 1850 was one providing for a territorial government for Utah. It did not provoke so much discussion or so much interest as did some other measures in that famous list. It passed the Senate September 7, 1850, and two days later passed the House and was signed by the President. The boundaries of the new territory were not so extensive as those of Deseret—California on the west, on the north the territory of Oregon, on the east the summit of the Rocky Mountains, and the thirty-seventh degree of north latitude on the south. In selecting officers for the territory the President remembered the people most concerned. Brigham Young was retained as governor and other prominent Mormons were given important appointments. In consideration of this the saints named the first capital of the territory Fillmore, and the county in which it is located was called Millard.[35] Unofficial news of the formation of the territory reached Salt Lake City in January, 1851. A few weeks later, before he had received official notice of his appointment, Young took the oath of office. During the last days of March he addressed a special message to the legislature of Deseret suggesting certain steps which would facilitate the transition to a territorial form of government. These steps were taken, and on April 5 the legislature was dissolved. The state of Deseret was replaced by the territory of Utah.

Extension of settlements.—Meanwhile the Mormons were extending their settlements into the territory

[35] Whitney, *History of Utah*, I. 450, 451.

north and south of Salt Lake City. Within less than two years after the arrival of the first settlers the number of people had become larger than the number of city lots, and more than the land in the vicinity would maintain in comfort. Exploring parties were sent out in different directions as new territory was needed to support the increasing population, and when a site was selected, usually a small party of volunteers directed by an elder made ready the proposed settlement. This was the common method adopted, but some settlements were developed differently. Thomas Grover, for instance, drove his stock to a meadow land twelve miles north of Salt Lake City in the autumn of 1847, intending to pasture them there during the winter. Here others joined him in the spring and a permanent settlement was made. In the following year a site for a town was surveyed and called Centerville. Bountiful, near Centerville, was settled in the spring of 1848. The country included in the present city of Ogden was held as a Spanish grant by Miles M. Goodyear in 1841, and he built a fort near the confluence of the Weber and Ogden rivers. This claim was purchased in 1848 by a member of the Mormon battalion who came from California with a few thousand dollars in gold dust. It was one of the most fertile spots in the entire region and drew settlers rapidly both from among the Mormons and the Gentiles. The city of Ogden was laid out in August, 1850, by Brigham Young and others. The settlement grew rapidly, and during its early history it was protected from Indian attacks by a wall which was built at a cost of forty thousand dollars. Brigham City and Willard City, both north of Ogden, were settled a little later.[36]

Country south of Salt Lake very attractive.—The saints preferred the country south of Salt Lake City

[36] Bancroft, *Utah,* Chapter XIII.

because there was a better water supply. In the spring of 1849, about thirty families settled on Utah Lake. The place was called Fort Utah. Precautions were taken to protect the community from the Indians, but hostilities broke out and the little fort soon found itself in a state of siege. Reënforcements were brought from Salt Lake City and the Indians were completely defeated. This freed Utah valley from hostile Indians until 1852. Provo City was founded in 1849. Evansville, about fifteen miles northwest of Provo City was settled over a year later, and in 1852 was incorporated under the name of Lehi. Pleasant Grove was laid out in the same vicinity. Payson, Nephi, and other settlements south of Utah Lake were made before 1853. The southern road to the gold fields of California made by the emigrants of 1849 passed through Nephi. Still further south Manti and Fillmore were established in 1850 and 1851 respectively. In the southwestern part of the present state of Utah Parowan was also settled in 1851. It attracted considerable interest because of the deposits of magnetic iron ore found in the vicinity. At the suggestion of Young himself, in March, 1851, a company was organized to go to California and form the nucleus of a settlement in the Cajon Pass, where they should "cultivate the olive, grape, sugar-cane, and cotton, gather around them the saints, and select locations on the line of a proposed mail route." [37] The purpose of the colony was to provide an outfitting post for the people who might come to Utah by way of San Diego. As a result San Bernardino was begun on the site where formerly had been established one of the way stations of the New Mexican-California traders of the 'thirties and 'forties. About three hundred of the saints under the leadership of Lyman and Rich bought the land and laid out the city in the same year in which the company was organized, and they remained the chief

[37] *History of B. Young*, MS., 1851, *Bancroft Collection*, 14 and 85.

element of strength in the community until they were recalled to Utah in 1857-1858.

Bibliographical Notes

Mormon Settlement in the Great Salt Lake Basin: There is an abundance of material on Mormon religion, but information on the settlement of the Great Salt Lake basin must be gleaned here and there from such general histories as McMaster's, from histories of Utah, and from journals of travelers. The following works will be found helpful: Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah, 1540-1886,* San Francisco, 1889; Samuel Bowles, *Across the Continent: A Summer's Journey to the Rocky Mountains, and the Pacific States with Speaker Colfax,* Springfield, Mass., 1865; Katherine Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West; How We Won the Land Beyond the Mississippi,* 2 vols., New York, 1912; John William Gunnison, *The Mormons, or, Latter-day Saints, in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake: a History of their Rise and Progress, Peculiar Doctrines, Present Conditions, and Prospects, Derived from Personal Observation: During a Residence among Them,* Philadelphia, 1860; William Alexander Linn, *The Story of the Mormons, from the Date of their Origin to the Year 1901,* New York 1902; Howard Stansbury, *An Expedition to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah: Including a Description of its Geography, Natural History, and Minerals, and an Analysis of its Waters: with an Account of the Mormon Settlement. . . . Also a Reconnaissance of a new Route through the Rocky Mountains, and two Large and Accurate Maps of that Region,* Philadelphia, 1855 (an unprejudiced contemporary account of the settlement); Edward W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City,* Salt Lake City, 1886 (an earlier edition, 1850); Orson F. Whitney, *Popular History of Utah,* Salt Lake City, 1916; *Ibid., History of Utah Comprising Preliminary Chapters on the Previous History of her Founders, Accounts of Early Spanish and American Explorations in the Rocky Mountain Region, the Advent of the Mormon Pioneers, the Establishment and Dissolution of the Provisional Government of the State of Deseret, and the Subsequent Creation and Development of the Territory,* 4 vols., Salt Lake City, 1892-1898; Anonymous: *California: Its Past History; its Present Position; its Future Prospects: Containing a History of the Country from its Colonization by the Spaniards to the Present Time . . . Including a History of the Rise, Progress, and Present Condition of the Mormon Settlements,* London, 1850.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SETTLEMENT OF CALIFORNIA

Purpose of this chapter.—The earliest interest of the United States in California was purely economic. Through this interest Americans gradually became familiar with the country and began to settle within the territory. At first they yielded uncomplainingly to the laws and customs of the land, but as their numbers increased the compliance of the earliest immigrants gave way to a bolder policy which involved them in disputes with the local authorities. Meanwhile reports of this new land on the Pacific attracted an increasing interest among citizens of the United States where they were given wide publicity as time went by, and, combined with unsettled conditions on the frontier, brought home seekers to California in sufficient numbers to dominate affairs within the territory. Then came the discovery of gold in January, 1848, which made California the mecca for tens of thousands of people from all over the world. Out of the chaotic conditions following their arrival a state government evolved which had functioned in an orderly manner for several months when California was admitted to the Union on September 9, 1850. It is the writer's intention to trace these events briefly in this chapter.

In a former chapter attention has been directed to the early economic interests which Boston merchants manifested in the Pacific Northwest. That interest stirred the wrath of Spanish officials in Mexico, and the following instructions were sent to officers in California:

Should there arrive at the port of San Francisco a ship named *Columbia,* which they say belongs to General Washington of the American states . . . you will take measures to secure this vessel and all the people on board, with discretion, tact, cleverness, and caution, doing the same with a small craft which she has with her as a tender, and with every other suspicious foreign vessel, giving me prompt notice in such cases in order that I may take such action as shall be expedient.[1]

This order chronicled California's knowledge of the United States and led to the United States' interest in California. The expedition sent out by the Boston merchants was eminently successful as we have seen. Gray spent several months in collecting furs along the Northwest coast during the year 1789, and these were sold in Canton at large profits. In this way a prosperous fur trade was opened with China, and New England merchants participated with increasing zeal.

Beginning of regular commercial intercourse.—In its early stages this trade was carried on along the Northwest coast, but the greater abundance of sea otter in the California waters from San Diego northwards soon drew the fur hunters to the more southern territory. In October, 1796, one of these vessels arrived at Monterey, and with this incident begins a regular commercial intercourse between New England and California which, assuming various forms, was carried on until well toward the middle of the nineteenth century. It is true that the colonial policy of Spain forbade trade with foreigners, but the enforcement of such regulations, in so far as they affected California, was quite impossible. Spain was far away, and public sentiment in California was overwhelmingly in favor of trade with these indefatigable Yankees. They furnished the mission authorities with many essential supplies for which the latter not infrequently traded sea-otter furs.

[1] Pedro Fages to Josef Arguello, May 13, 1789, quoted in Bancroft, *History of California,* I. 445.

The New England trader increased his supply of furs by hunting along the great stretches of unfrequented shore or around the islands in neighboring channels. It was not possible for the more conscientious Spanish officials to prevent this because they had no boats with which to pursue the intruders. The skins thus obtained were carried to Canton and exchanged for silks, teas, lacquered wares, and other goods, which in turn were brought back to the islands or to the Russian settlements of Alaska or to California. Not infrequently they might be transported directly to Europe or to the United States.[2]

The whaling industry.—The knowledge which the United States acquired of California was not gained entirely from the fur traders who entered her ports and hunted the sea otter along her coasts. The New England whale fisherman found profitable employment in Pacific waters, and during the very early part of the nineteenth century, began to visit California harbors for supplies before undertaking the long homeward journey. These visits became more frequent as knowledge of the value of the hunting grounds was extended. According to Representative Bayles of Massachusetts this trade brought a million and a half dollars annually to New Bedford and Nantucket alone, and from New England and New York one hundred and twenty-nine vessels were employed in its prosecution.[3] The vessels which came into Monterey and San Francisco usually left four or five hundred dollars' worth of manufactured goods among the Californians which were brought for the purpose of trading for fresh supplies for the return trip.

---

[2] Cleland, *The Early Sentiment for the Annexation of California; an Account of the Growth of American Interest in California from 1835 to 1846.* In the Southwestern Historical *Quarterly*, XVIII, Nos. 1, 2, 3. Austin, 4.

[3] *Annals of Congress.*, 17th Cong., 2d Sess. (1822-1823), 414-416.

Hides and tallow; a trading scene.—A more direct and a more intimate relation between the United States and California was established when Bryant and Sturgis of Boston, with other interested persons, began regularly to seek hides and tallow from the Spaniards along the California coast after Mexico became independent of Spain. It was undertaken upon the recommendation of William Alden Gale,[4] who had been engaged in the fur trade along the coast in earlier years, and came to play a prominent part in the commercial life of the Californians, and it afforded a profitable trade for a few Boston merchants. One of these vessels engaged in trade along the coast was anchored in San Pedro harbor in 1829. Alfred Robinson, who was with it, has left a description of a scene which must have been common in the ports of California during these years:

As we anticipated, our friends came in the morning, flocking on board from all quarters; and soon a busy scene commenced, afloat and ashore. Boats were plying to and fro—launches laden with the variety of our cargo passing to the beach, and men, women, and children crowding upon our decks, partaking in the general excitement. On shore all was confusion. Cattle and carts laden with hides and tallow, *gente de razon,* and Indians, busily engaged in the delivery of their produce, and receiving in return its value in goods; groups of individuals seated around little bonfires on the ground, and horsemen racing over the plain in every direction. Thus the day passed; some departing, some arriving—till long after sunset the low white road leading across the plain to the town, appeared a living panorama.[5]

First American settlers.—The first Americans to settle in California came on board these vessels. There were very few who stopped in the territory while the

[4] Gale established the first American business house at Monterey in 1824, according to Hittel, T. H., *History of California,* II. 73, 74.

[5] *Life in California, San Francisco,* 1891, 50, 51; Richard Henry Dana, *Two Years before the Mast,* gives an excellent account of the hide and tallow trade.

country was in the hands of Spain, but the intentions of the traders were suspected by the jealous Spanish officials. By 1817 the Americans were believed to have in view other than commercial purposes. Sola said they came well armed, and avoided the presidios. They visited the smaller bays where they could land with impunity and come into contact with the people. If a struggle should arise Spain could not depend upon the Indians. They could easily be bought by the Americans. But Spain could not think of abandoning the province, not only because of its intrinsic value and the duty of maintaining the spiritual conquest which had been made, but because it was especially important at that time as a commercial frontier barrier to prevent the scheming and aggressive English and Russians from interfering in the trade of New Spain.[6]

Foreign influences; the waltz.—When California changed from Spanish to Mexican hands the bitter feeling against the Yankee was temporarily alleviated. The hostility against foreigners, particularly the English and Americans, was also modified when prominent men like Hartnell and Gale married into California families. But when Americans had arrived in sufficient numbers to begin to flaunt their literature and their amusements in the face of the Mexican population, particularly when some of the latter were inclined to adopt these, hostile sentiments began once more to rise against foreigners. The church officials objected to certain religious books of different sects which were brought into the territory, many of which were purely literary and scientific in character. But the padres had more tempting food for scandal when a new foreign dance was introduced into the province. This was the waltz. Indignation among the missionaries became so great that finally an edict was procured from the bishop of Sonora imposing excommunication upon all who

[6] Bancroft, *History of California*, II. 214, 215.

should indulge in this particular pastime, and in 1824 the edict was posted on the church door at Monterey. A dance had been arranged for the evening of the day the edict arrived, and guests had assembled when news of the admonition of the bishop was circulated. There was brief hesitation, a nod of approval from the Governor who was present, and the waltz went on.[7]

Smith's first journey overland.—While these Americans were courting the dangers of the seas in order to ply their trade, and some of them through force of circumstances or from choice were settling among the Spaniards and Mexicans in California, others were preparing to take the more hazardous journey overland. And in the latter movement, as in the former, the impelling force—the force which initiated the movement—was economic. Jedediah S. Smith, the senior member of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, has been credited with leading the first overland expedition into California. With a party of fifteen men Smith left the rendezvous near Great Salt Lake on August 22, 1826, for the purpose of exploring the country to the southwest, which was then unknown to American traders. Passing down the valley of the Great Salt Lake, probably, east of Utah he followed a general southwesterly course across the Sevier valley to the Virgin River, down which he made his way to the Colorado. Two days above the mouth of the Virgin he discovered a remarkable salt cave, the only incident of importance that happened on this part of his trip. Having crossed to the east bank of the Colorado, Smith followed the stream down to the Mojave Indians. He remained with them fifteen days to recruit his horses. Then again he crossed the Colorado and pursued a western course, experiencing great hardship and much suffering as he

[7] Hittell, Theodore H., *History of California,* 4 vols., San Francisco, 1885, II. 74, 75.

hunted his way over the desolate wastes of southern California. It was probably about the middle of October when he arrived at San Diego.[8] His presence aroused the displeasure of the Mexican officials, and it was not until the Americans in the colony had interceded for him that he was permitted to purchase supplies and depart. It was apparently expected that he would return over the route by which he had come, but Smith was not disposed to leave immediately a country which he had come so far to see. After some delay in the southern part of the territory he turned northwest and traveled approximately three hundred miles parallel with the coast. Several months were spent on this part of the journey, the time being utilized to advantage in trapping. The spring of 1827 found the party in the vicinity of the headwaters of the Merced and San Joaquin rivers. Early in May, Smith attempted to cross the Sierra Nevada Mountains with his men, but the snows were too deep. Then he decided to leave most of the men in California while he should make his way to the rendezvous, expecting to return for them in the fall. Taking two companions and seven horses and two mules loaded with provisions and forage, toward the end of May he began his perilous journey. The mountains were crossed in eight days with the loss of only two horses and one mule,[9] the snow being barely sufficiently hard to support the weight of the animals. His exact route is not clear, but he probably crossed the mountains near Sonora Pass, traveling north of Walker Lake and crossing Nevada far south of the Humboldt. A journey of twenty days more

[8] Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, I. 283. Bancroft, *History of California*, III. 154, gives December as the month of his arrival.

[9] For a discussion of the various routes over which Smith is said to have passed on this expedition *see* Harrington C. Dale (editor), *The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829*, 192, note 409. For the letter to Gen. Wm. Clark in which Smith gives an account of this expedition *see ibid.*, 186-194.

brought him to the southwestern corner of the Great Salt Lake. Proceeding up the western shore he reached the rendezvous toward the middle of June.

Smith's second journey to California.—About a month later, July 13, Smith started on his second trip to California accompanied by eighteen men. His object was to bring back the men he had left there. He followed the route by which he had traveled the previous year and went directly to the Mojave Indians. The Spaniards meanwhile had persuaded the Indians to prevent the Americans from passing that way. Of this Smith was ignorant, and expecting the same courteous treatment which he had formerly experienced at their hands, he was somewhat off his guard. In August while he was crossing the Colorado on a raft the Indians attacked the little band, killing ten men and capturing all the property and papers. Amidst intense suffering and great peril the survivors made their way to San Gabriel in nine and one-half days. Smith left two wounded companions here and started north to join his party. Upon arriving at Mission San José Smith asked permission to visit the governor at Monterey, but his request was denied and he was imprisoned. He was at last sent to Monterey under guard where he experienced trying difficulties. In the late autumn, through the intercession of the master of an American ship, he was freed and told that he must leave Mexican territory after he had secured necessary supplies.

An attack by Indians.—With the men who had survived the attack of the Mojaves and with the companions left in California the preceding year,[10] Smith prepared to depart. The Mexican officials had given him two months in which to leave the territory, and they had designated the general route he must follow. But the route chosen required him to cross the Buenaven-

[10] *Ibid.*, 285, note 3; Chittenden, *The History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West*, I. 285, note 3.

tura (Sacramento) River which was impassable at the time because of high water. Smith determined to spend the winter in the neighborhood. Making his way slowly up the river he reached the principal fork where he spent several months, a circumstance from which the stream came to be known as the American Fork. On April 13, 1828, Smith resumed his journey, going northwestward to the coast. This he followed without experiencing any extraordinary hardships until he reached the Umpqua River. A large quantity of furs had been accumulated through considerable trapping on the way, but these were taken by the Indians at the Umpqua, fifteen of his men were killed, and Smith himself was separated from the other three who fled northward. The leader, in a destitute condition, made his way to Fort Vancouver where he found his companions. McLoughlin afforded every relief that he could to the unfortunate adventurers, even to providing a force to punish the Indians and to secure the property. For the latter service McLoughlin charged only the value of the men's time at the rate of sixty dollars a year. For horses that were lost on the trip he charged four dollars apiece. He then purchased the recovered property, the amount of the furs coming to about twenty thousand dollars. In March, 1829, Smith started East. Ascending the Columbia he followed the route used by British fur traders to their post among the Flathead Indians, a place he had visited in 1824. Thence he started south for the Snake River. He met Jackson, one of his partners, on the way, and a little later found the other, Sublette, at "Tetons on Henry Fork, the south branch of the Columbia." [11]

The explorations which he had made were notable in the annals of western history. He had been the first of whom we have any knowledge to travel southwest

[11] *Ibid.*, 287.

from Great Salt Lake to California, the first to cross the Sierra Nevada Mountains and the deserts of Utah and Nevada, and the first to travel up the Pacific coast by land from San Francisco to the Columbia.

The Patties in California.—A month before Smith left his camp on the American Fork for his trip up the coast to the Columbia, Sylvester Pattie, a Kentuckian, accompanied by his son, James Ohio Pattie, arrived at Santa Catalina Mission in Lower California. Ten days later they were placed under guard and taken to San Diego, where they arrived on March 27, 1828. Besides the Patties the company included Nathaniel Pryor, Richard Laughlin, William Pope, Isaac Glover, Jesse Ferguson, and James Puter, the majority of whom became permanent residents of California. Here the Patties were imprisoned, and the father died a month later. Young Pattie remained in prison in spite of the efforts made by Americans to secure his release. Finally smallpox broke out in the missions, and Pattie says he struck an agreement with the officials whereby he promised to vaccinate the people of the territory with a small quantity of vaccine which he had, upon condition that he and his companions should be granted their freedom. Under this agreement the prison doors were opened early in 1829, and Pattie and his companions were given their liberty. For about a year longer he remained in California, and then returned to the United States by way of Mexico.[12]

Following Smith and the Patties came additional bands of trappers and adventurers led by such men as Young, Wolfskill, Walker, and others whose names are unknown. They wandered up and down the inland valleys and streams of California, coming and going,

[12] For a summary of the experiences of the Patties and an estimate of the value of James Ohio Pattie's *Personal Narrative* as edited by Timothy Flint, Cincinnati, 1833, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, see* Bancroft, *History of California,* III. 162-172.

thoughtless of life, with no respect for Mexican law or Mexican officials, seeking out the passes in the Sierras as they crossed and recrossed them, and preparing the way for the flood of overland immigrants who were to follow.

Rumors of American plots.—While the total immigration into California by sea and by land was insignificant up to 1830 when compared with the movement in later years, it was sufficiently large to keep the suspicious Mexican officials alarmed. Rumors were beginning to circulate occasionally, and they usually had a disquieting effect upon the administrators of the law. One of these reached the ear of Echeandia in 1829, and he immediately forwarded it to his superiors at Mexico City. The Americans, it was said, were plotting to seize the port of San Francisco; and another rumor came from Mexico by way of England to the effect that California with Texas was about to be made over to the United States for a term of years as security for a large sum of money which was to be spent in preventing a Spanish invasion.[13]

Causes of the revolution of 1836.—Perhaps one reason for the extreme sensitiveness of Mexican officers in California came from an appreciation of the change that was taking place in the minds of the Californians themselves. A new generation was appearing on the scene. They were the first of the "native sons," and they were proud, jealous, and ambitious. They did not desire independence, but they did crave more generous and thoughtful consideration from the mother country. They believed that more time should be given to consulting the interest of the territory, and that no more Mexican officers should be sent to administer affairs in California. They had capable talent among

---

[13] Niles' *Weekly Register*, XXXVII. 87.

their own citizens—why should the home government decline to recognize it? Why not have Alvarado or Castro or Carrillo or Vallejo or Pico or some other young Californian selected for the governorship of the territory? The fact that due consideration was not given to these things by the home government engendered bitterness against Mexican authority. Some of the people were beginning to feel that the Mexican way of doing things was not the best way, and foreigners with selfish motives but sound arguments exerted themselves to prove that California had received from Mexico nothing but neglect and ill treatment. While the Californians were too shrewd to seek support from foreign nations for accomplishing their purpose, they were willing to utilize the foreigners in their midst in order to attain their ends. These were some of the motives back of the uprising of 1836, led by the American, Isaac Graham, in which foreigners took a prominent part.

Isaac Graham and the revolution of 1836.—Graham was a hunter who had come from Tennessee by way of New Mexico, arriving in California in 1833. He belonged to the rougher element which might be found in frontier communities and had no respect for things Mexican. Near San Juan he had opened a still which had become a favorite loafing place for foreigners in the community. Graham had promised to aid Alvarado in the impending struggle, and had no difficulty in raising a company of twenty-five or thirty men from among his companions. Most of them were sailors of various nationalities, with about one-half dozen American hunters. In the work of recruiting Graham was assisted by two Englishmen. It is difficult to estimate the services which they rendered, but they evidently constituted the most formidable part of the revolutionary force. Alvarado said that the company was of great use to him, that the leaders rendered effective

service, and that he had promised to reward them with lands.[14]

The Graham affair of 1840.—After Alvarado became governor, however, he seems to have lost the friendly feeling he may have had for the foreigners who had assisted him in accomplishing his purpose. As time passed he doubtless felt that the successful revolution which had been led by citizens of the United States in Texas might be duplicated in California, and this impression would be aggravated by perhaps an undue familiarity on the part of the same foreigners who had assisted him in 1836. Graham is said to have "boldly told him (Alvarado) to his teeth, that to him (Graham) he (Alvarado) owed his elevation."[15] Such experience would tend to make the Californian particularly susceptible to reports which circulated in the territory, to the effect that the Americans were planning an uprising. These rumors were so persistent that by April, 1840, about one hundred American and English residents in California who had no passports were arrested suddenly for engaging in a plot to overthrow the government. Their intention, it was said, was to declare the country independent of Mexico. Graham was considered the leader of the movement. With fifty of his companions, he was given a farcical trial at Santa Barbara and severe treatment by the officials in charge. They were then shipped to Tepic, where Barron, the British consul, and Alexander Forbes secured a pardon for most of the prisoners and a quick trial for the others which resulted in their acquittal. Some of them were fortunate enough to secure immediate indemnity for the loss and suffering which they had experienced, while the others returned to California to procure legal evidence against the government there. In this they were aided by a vessel of the United

[14] Bancroft, *History of California*, III. 459, note.
[15] Robinson, *Life in California*, 187.

States navy [16] under the command of Commodore Jones in 1842.

Arrival of Sutter; establishment of New Helvetia. —The period before 1840 was in no sense a period of immigration, but it was an era when a good many came who were to occupy prominent places in the later history of the territory. Among these perhaps none deserves more recognition than Johann August Sutter, a native of Baden, who had acquired citizenship in Switzerland and came to Monterey in July, 1839. Sutter had a magnetic personality, was tactful, and could converse in English, French, and Spanish besides his native German. He came provided with letters of recommendation from officials of the Hudson Bay Company, from the Russian-American Company, and from merchants at Honolulu. Alvarado was most favorably impressed by him and invited him to become a Mexican citizen and select a tract of land in the interior to which he might acquire title within a year under Mexican law. He visited Vallejo at Sonoma and the Russian port at Ross, at both of which places he was courteously received. Sonoma, Napa, and Suisun valleys were recommended to him as desirable locations for settlement, but he declined these suggestions, apparently because he wanted to settle on a navigable river, but really because he wished to be some distance from Spanish officials and Spanish neighbors.[17] He had already determined to locate in Sacramento valley, and he had no objection to becoming a citizen of Mexico, providing he could advance his own interest by doing so. With two hired schooners and a pinnace, Sutter started from Yerba Buena for the Sacramento River early in August. After eight days he landed on the

---

[16] Cleland, *The Early Sentiment for the Annexation of California,* 22. *See also* Bancroft, *California,* IV. Chapter I and notes for a full discussion of the affair and for bibliographical material.

[17] Sutter's *Personal Reminiscences,* MS. Bancroft Collection, 21-27.

south bank of the American, its tributary, and he determined to make his settlement there. With him came three white men, eight Kanakas, an Indian, and a bulldog. Here on high ground two temporary structures of grass and poles were built, and the settlement was called New Helvetia.

By the summer of 1840 Sutter had become acquainted with the western trappers who hunted in the Sacramento valley, and had shown diplomacy and tact in his relations with the Indians. On completing the requirements for his citizenship in August, he was appointed to represent the department of government at New Helvetia. He was given all the civil authority necessary for the local administration of justice, for suppressing criminal adventurers from the United States, repressing Indian hostilities, and preventing the illegal fishing and trapping carried on in that vicinity by the Hudson Bay Company. In the same year Sutter extended his possessions by purchasing Fort Ross from the Russians for thirty thousand pesos, and in 1841 he began the construction of a fort at New Helvetia. The area of the fort was five hundred by one hundred and fifty feet, and when completed was protected by adobe walls eighteen feet high with bastioned corners. By 1842 it had an armament of twelve guns, and Sutter had established himself on the Sacramento as "a veritable lord of the marches." [18]

No overland homeseekers before 1841.—The Americans in California at this time were insignificant as far as numbers go. In fact the entire foreign population in a total population of a little less than six thousand, excluding Indians, was about three hundred and eighty. Of the latter, approximately two hundred and forty had come before 1835, and one hundred and forty

[18] Fort Ross had been established by the Russians in 1812 at a point eighteen miles north of Bodega. It was situated on a bluff one hundred feet above the sea and was given a fortification of ten guns. Richman, *California under Spain and Mexico*, Boston, 1911—268, 269.

during the next five years. Of these about fifty men who were settled in the territory are said to have come overland, and not more than a dozen of these had left their homes for the deliberate purpose of settling. The Sierras had been crossed at least twice: once by Smith on his return to Great Salt Lake in 1827; and again by J. R. Walker, a native of Tennessee, who had resided for many years on the frontier in Missouri. Walker had been on an exploring expedition to Santa Fé, and in 1833 led a company of about forty trappers from Great Salt Lake to Mary or Ogden (Humboldt) River, and thence over the Sierras by an unknown route into California, returning across the mountains through Walker's Pass in 1834.[19] The men who had come overland and settled had made their entrance into California over the southern route by Tucson and the Gila. But there had been no company of immigrants before 1841.

Conditions leading to immigration of homeseekers.—The panic of 1837 brought economic distress to the entire nation, and perhaps in no section was there more prevailing unrest than along the frontier beyond the Mississippi. The discontent was particularly marked between 1839 and 1841, and the people willingly gave attention to reports of other lands. It must also be borne in mind that the frontiersmen were normally emigrants—"emigrants by profession," and rumors which had begun to circulate, even at this early date, about California's "cloudless skies" and fertile soil stirred a sympathetic response in their restless natures. These rumors came through various channels; from New Mexico and Oregon, with which places overland communication was common, through articles reprinted by local papers from the eastern press, and from the

[19] On the population *see* Bancroft, *California,* IV. 117, 264; on Walker's explorations, *ibid.,* III. 389-392, and Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville* (author's revised ed., N. Y.), Chapters XXXVIII and XXXIX.

mouths of nameless wandering trappers of whom nearly every frontier community possessed its quota. These reports had all the effect of the elaborately prepared and highly colored advertisements in current magazines. If there were no exaggerated drawings from the pens of commercial artists which visualized life in the midst of orange groves in sunny California, free from all the ills that flesh is heir to, at any rate there were among early trappers men who were skilled in playing upon the sensitive imaginations of a discontented people.

Robidoux's account of California.—Among the most effective of these appears the French trapper, Robidoux. He was in the little town of Weston, Platte County, Missouri, when feelings were tense. Letters had come from John Marsh of Mt. Diablo fame and others which had fanned the emigrating spirit in the community, and the people eagerly plied Robidoux with questions. He had been to California and had returned to their very midst! He was by all odds the best man to give them the information they sought. A meeting of the people of the town was called and Robidoux agreed to attend and answer questions. California, he declared, was "a perfect paradise, a perpetual spring." When questioned regarding the danger from chills and fever, a danger from which these people particularly desired to be free, he said: "There never was but one man in California who had the ague. He was from Missouri and carried the disease in his system. It was such a curiosity to see a man shake with the chills that the people of Monterey went eighteen miles into the country to watch him." And the chronicler of these events confides to his readers: "He was a calm, considerate man, and his stories had all the appearance of truth!"[20]

[20] Bidwell, Hon. Jno., *California, 1841-1848, An Immigrant's Recollections of a Trip across the Plains, and of Men and Events in Early Days, Including the Bear Flag Revolution,* MS., Bancroft Collection, 5-10.

Emigration discouraged by Weston merchants.—The meeting undoubtedly strengthened the determination of these people to go to California. An organization was formed, committees were appointed, and a pledge was drawn up binding the signers to dispose of their property, and purchase suitable outfits for a trip across the plains and over the mountains. About five hundred signed the pledge. It looked for a while as if the entire population of the town and surrounding community would move to California where "hospitality . . . was unbounded." Consternation seized the business men of the town and they began an active campaign to defeat the movement. The idea of such a change was ridiculed, and the dangers of a trip over the plains and through the mountains were magnified. The men who had instigated the plan were denounced and accused of wilfully misrepresenting the climate and resources of California. About this time it happened that some letters written by Farnham were being published in the papers of New York, and at the suggestion of Weston merchants these were reprinted in local papers and distributed throughout the community.[21] Excitement cooled. Another public meeting was called and another committee appointed and directed to correspond with people in California and with others who might desire to go. Apparently the second meeting was intended to counteract the effect of the work of the merchants and to keep up the spirits of those who had agreed to emigrate. It proved impossible, however. The enthusiasm quickly passed.

Sentiment elsewhere and a company formed.—While the people of Weston were experiencing these extremes of sentiment, the desire to migrate was taking a slower but firmer hold on the people along the frontier towards the south. In Missouri and Arkansas small

[21] *Ibid.*, 8, 9.

companies were forming under the direction of courageous leaders. It is difficult to determine the number. At St. Louis one was organized under the leadership of Josiah Belden, a native of Connecticut who had lived in New York, Louisiana, and Mississippi before coming to Missouri. This company received additions at Independence on its way to the rendezvous on the Kansas River. Other small groups were headed by Robert Rickman, John Bartleson, and probably by Joseph B. Chiles. A party including Charles Weber, who was to become the founder of Stockton, did not join the company until several days after the start, and still another was too late to join it at all.[22] Near "Sapling Grove," Kansas—at the Kansas River camp, about nine miles from the Missouri line—the company was organized. Talbot H. Green was elected president, Bidwell was chosen secretary, and John Bartleson was appointed captain. Besides the company of forty-eight commanded by Bartleson, there were seventeen others who were to go to Oregon. The California expedition had no member who was familiar with the country through which they were to pass. It was therefore fortunate for them that members of the Oregon party had employed Fitzpatrick, an experienced mountaineer and guide, who was practically commander of the entire expedition as long as he remained with it. From him members of the California company gained much practical information during the weeks the two expeditions were together.

Crossing the plains.—The organization having been perfected, on Wednesday, May 19, 1841, the company broke camp and started off in single file. The missionaries with four carts and one wagon took the lead, and were followed by eight wagons drawn by horses and mules, the rear being brought up by five additional wagons drawn by seventeen yoke of oxen. They fol-

[22] Bancroft, *California*, IV. 264 ff. and notes.

lowed the right bank of the Kansas River through rolling prairies interspersed with black walnut, elm, and hickory, traveling at the rate of about fifteen miles a day. On the twenty-third they were detained a short time in order to recover some oxen that had strayed from camp, and again on the twenty-sixth to repair two broken wagons. Without further misfortune they crossed the Kansas River, probably in the vicinity of the present site of Wamego, and continued westward to the Big Blue. They crossed the stream and turned northward toward the Platte River, covering that part of the journey at the rate of about twenty miles a day. On the twenty-first they met three wagons loaded with furs and robes going from Fort Laramie to St. Louis. During the morning of the first of June they met a band of friendly Indians who returned a gun and a horse stolen the day before, and who accompanied the expedition to the Platte River which they reached about noon, and "enjoyed a heavy shower in the afternoon and in the evening a wedding." [23]

High prices in the mountains.—From this point the company turned westward, following the south bank of the Platte. On the fifth of June they passed a number of boats loaded with furs. These belonged to the American Fur Company and were on their way to the eastern markets. Three days later the party made a camp in a valley at the junction of the North and South Forks of the Platte where the ground was covered with the bones of dead animals and where great herds of buffalo could be seen over the plains. About fifty miles west of the junction they forded the South Fork, crossed over to the North Fork, and ascended the north bank of that stream to Fort Laramie, at which place they arrived on the twenty-second of June. Two days were spent here at the fort of the American Fur Company. Recrossing the North Platte, probably at Fort Laramie,

[23] Bidwell, *A Journey to California in 1841.*

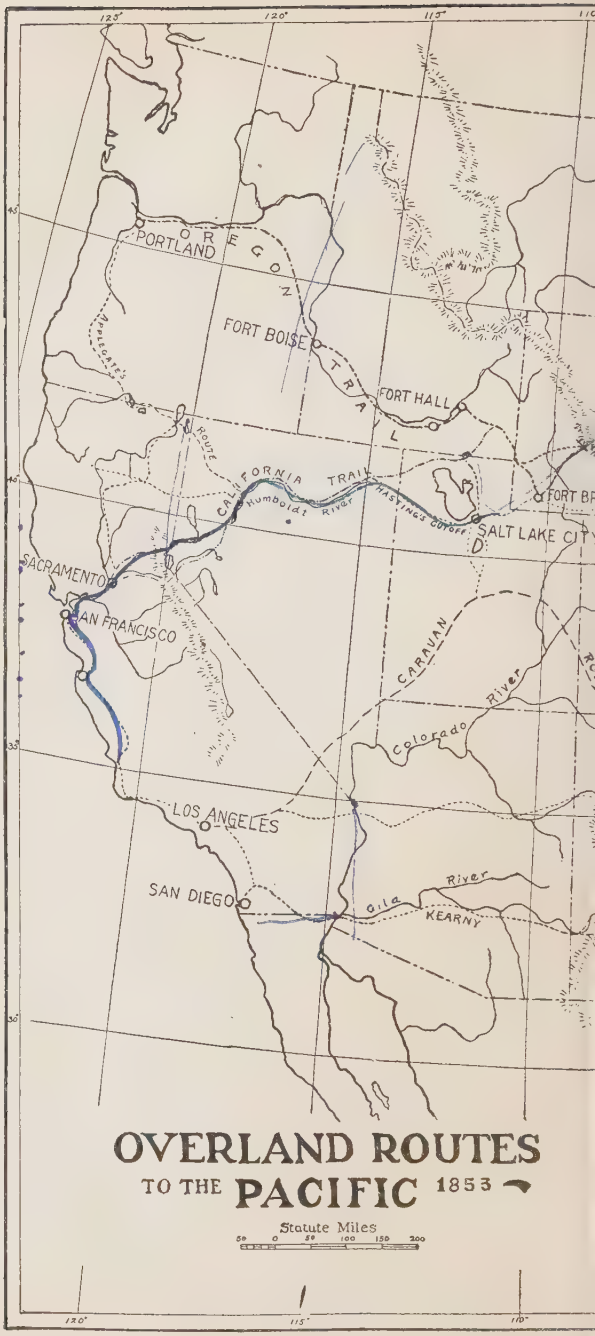
they ascended the river for more than one hundred miles and again crossed it to the Sweetwater. While following up the latter stream they put in a supply of buffalo meat to last them over the mountains, met a trapping expedition from Fort Laramie, and spent two days trading with them. Prices were exorbitant. Gunpowder was a dollar a pint; lead, a dollar and a half a pound; blankets, eight to fifteen dollars; sugar, one dollar per cupful; tobacco, two and a half dollars a pound; and other things accordingly. Having secured such supplies as they could afford, the emigrants crossed the mountains through South Pass, struck the headwaters of Big Sandy Creek, descended that stream to Green River, and continued down the latter to Black Fork, where they camped on the night of the thirty-first of July. Guards were posted to protect their livestock against the ravages of the Blackfeet Indians, and the next day they followed the Black Fork of the Green River to its source, and crossed to Bear River, continuing along the latter stream to Soda Springs.

This part of the trip seems to have been thoroughly enjoyed by members of the little band. It was the early part of August, and the sky was clear and the weather perfect. Rugged mountains of almost every shape extended their rocky summits into the western sky, receiving the first rays of the sun in the early morning, probably while the emigrants ate their breakfasts of cold buffalo meat, bread, and coffee, and standing cold and still against the horizon long after the evening glow had disappeared and the travelers had gone to sleep.

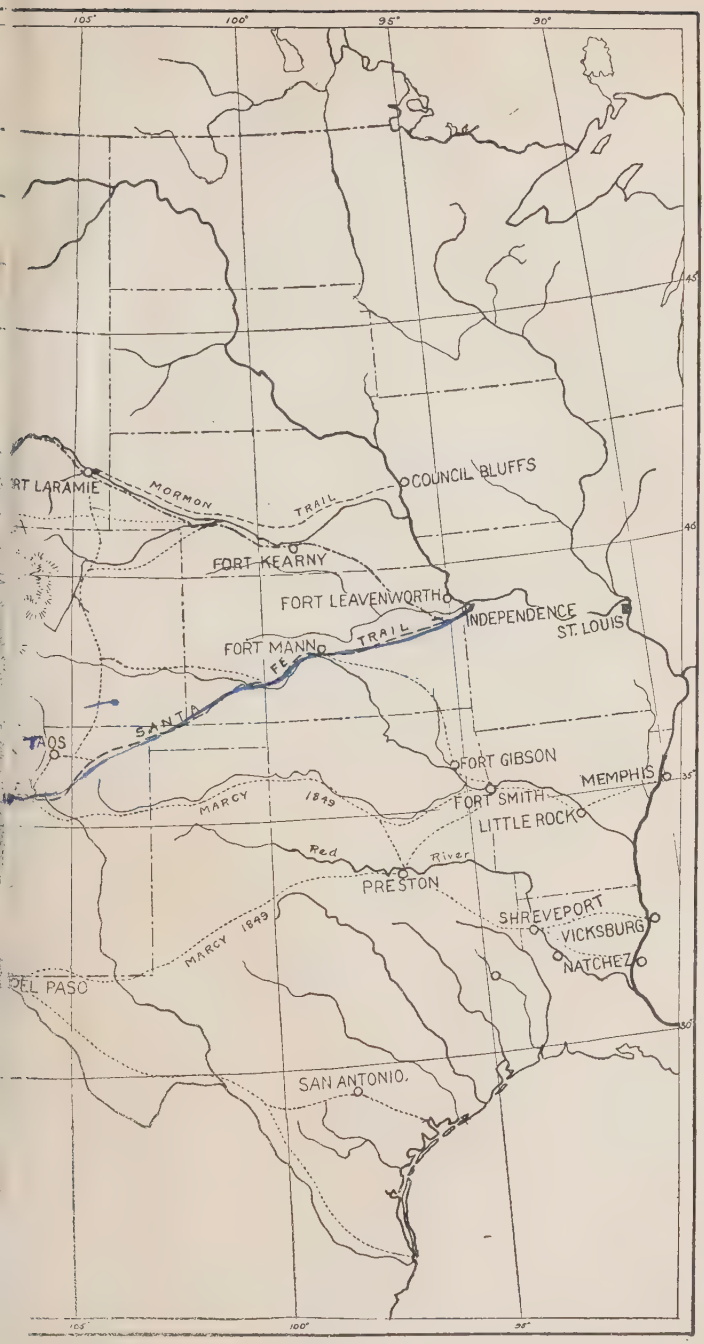
Division of the company.—At Soda Springs the company divided. Fitzpatrick, with the Oregon party, continued northward to Fort Hall, having vainly endeavored to persuade the others to abandon their trip to California. The California division waited at Soda Springs for the return of four of their number who accompanied Fitzpatrick to Fort Hall for the purpose

of procuring provisions and a guide, but the men returned without having obtained either. They did, however, get some vague directions and general advice interspersed with some uncanny "ifs." There was a desert to the south in which they might lose themselves if they went too far in that direction; towards the north there was a maze of cañons and cliffs; and somewhere between these was a certain stream known as "Mary's" or "Ogden" (Humboldt) River, which they were advised to search out and follow. To wander too far to the south meant death from thirst in the desert; to stray too far north meant a similar fate from starvation among the cliffs and cañons; to steer a middle course between these two alternatives, if they found the stream in that section, meant the possibility of prolonging their journey into the region of uncertainties! These were the conditions under which the California party, composed of thirty-two men, a woman, and one child, left Soda Springs, without a guide, for the purpose of settling in territory which then belonged to Mexico.

Making a California trail.—The company broke camp as their men returned from Fort Hall, and proceeded down Bear River until the water in that stream became too salty for use. The route to the Humboldt is not clear. They probably followed the northern shore of Salt Lake, using such water as they could find in pools by making it into strong coffee, groping along the northern and western borders of Great Salt Lake Desert, traveling in a general southwestern direction, "hunting their way among rocks and gullies and through sage brush," both men and animals half famished from thirst, until the twenty-sixth of August. On that day their courage was strengthened by the discovery of an Indian trail leading north toward the mountains. They followed this and soon found a supply of water and grass. On September 9 the explorers returned and reported that "St. Mary's" was about five



OVERLAND ROUTES
TO THE PACIFIC 1853


105°
100°
95°
90°
45°
40°
35°
30°
RT LARAMIE
MORMON
TRAIL
COUNCIL BLUFFS
FORT KEARNY
FORT LEAVENWORTH
INDEPENDENCE
ST. LOUIS
FORT MANN
TRAIL
FE
SANTA
TAOS
FORT GIBSON
MEMPHIS
MARCY
1849
FORT SMITH
LITTLE ROCK
Red
River
PRESTON
SHREVEPORT
VICKSBURG
NATCHEZ
MARCY 1849
DEL PASO
SAN ANTONIO.

days' journey toward the west. The emigrants eagerly quickened their pace in the direction of the river.

The company soon learned that the country was too rough for wagons, and they were abandoned, together with such other things as could not be carried on the backs of animals. No member of the expedition, however, had had experience in loading pack animals, and the mules and oxen were just as inexperienced in carrying loads. Packs would turn, and old mules that appeared "too skinny" to travel under ordinary cicumstances would run and kick, and oxen would buck and bellow, much to the amusement of the emigrants.

Along the Humboldt River.—After traveling west probably just north of Franklin Lake in Nevada, crossing the East Humboldt range of mountains, and passing in the vicinity of the little town of Evans, bearing a little north of west as they proceeded, they came to the "St. Mary's" where it turns toward the northwest, on the twenty-third of September. Their information led them to expect the stream to flow toward the southwest, and after following the river for eight days they began to fear they were becoming involved in that northern region against which the trappers of Fort Hall had warned them. A feeling of great relief was experienced when they found on October 2 that the river turned southwest. They passed through a barren region, finding no game and probably little food for the animals, as the country had been recently burned over by the Indians. The oxen became too weak to bear the loads, but they were still driven on for food, the supply of buffalo meat having given out before the company reached "St. Mary's" River. They arrived at the sink about October 7.

Again the exact route is difficult to determine. The company traveled southwest from the sink of "St. Mary's" or the Humboldt River, probably passing Humboldt and Carson lakes, striking Walker River

where it turns south before emptying into Walker Lake. They ascended that stream to the foot of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, arriving at the latter place on October 16. Members of the expedition were sent out to find a passage through the mountains, and after an absence of a day and night reported that "the mountains were barely passable." When this report was made some members of the company began to murmur. They thought it would be better to return to Fort Hall before the snows overtook them. A vote was taken, and they decided to continue the journey.

Crossing the Sierra Nevada Mountains.—About the middle of October the little band started across the mountains, hunting their way through valleys between peaks, passing through forests "the pine of which were, many of them, twelve feet in diameter," along dry beds of streams, dodging boulders and scaling mountains until they reached the divide. "A frightful prospect opened before us. Naked mountains whose summits still retained the snows of perhaps a thousand years. . . . The wind roared, but in the deep, dark gulfs which yawned on every side, profound silence seemed to reign." [24] The supply of beef gave out and a mule was killed. On October 29 Hopper, their most experienced mountaineer, gave up all expectation of reaching California, but this was the darkness preceding the dawn. On the next day they discovered a stream flowing west and their hopes were revived. It was the Stanislaus River. They descended the north bank for a distance and crossed to the south. To follow the stream was apparently impossible on account of boulders and cañons so the emigrants, footsore and weary, worked their way down, keeping a general westerly direction, until they reached the vicinity of the present site of Sonora. They were fortunate enough to kill a coyote here and their drooping spirits were revived for a final effort. In the

[24] *Ibid.*

twilight of an evening about the first of November they glided ghostlike from the shadows of the mountains to the plains below. They were near the present site of Knight's Ferry, and laid themselves upon the ground to sleep, little dreaming that they were in what was to become known as the state of California.[25] Next morning they woke early and discovered a belt of timber off to their right. Although only about ten miles distant, it took them, in their weakened condition, all day to reach it, but reach it they did in the early evening, and found themselves again on the Stanislaus. Game was abundant and their sufferings from lack of food were at an end. Within a few days they arrived at Marsh's ranch at the foot of Mt. Diablo. Marsh notified the sub-prefect of their arrival and, after some unpleasant experiences and delays at San José and Mission San José, they were granted temporary passports by Vallejo and permitted to go their respective ways. Some found employment at Sutter's Fort and others scattered to various parts of the territory.

Another party overland by southern route.—Another party came to California over the southern route during 1841. It is known as the Workman-Rowland company. A few people had arrived at the rendezvous on the Kansas River too late to join the Bartleson-Bidwell expedition in May, and had gone over the Santa Fé trail to New Mexico. They found much excitement here over rumors of plans to embroil that country in Texan troubles. Workman, Rowland, and others were believed to be involved in the plot, and this may have had a great deal to do with the emigration to California. They left Abiquin in September, crossed the Colorado,

[25] Belden, Josiah, *Statement of Historical Facts on California,* MS., Bancroft Collection, 11-14, and Hopper, Charles, *Narrative,* MS., Bancroft Collection, 3-5. Bidwell and these have been my authority for the overland route. Bidwell's account is more complete, and doubtless more accurate, since it is based on a journal which he kept. The three agree, however, on the main points.

and pursued the same route which the Mexican traders had been following for a number of years. A flock of sheep was driven along for food, and the company arrived at San Gabriel early in November, having experienced few hardships. Two members of the expedition brought their families on this trip and others did later. About half of the company (there were twenty-five) came in search of permanent homes.[26]

A prophecy.—In 1838 Alexander Forbes said in commenting upon the future of California:

> There is another restless and enterprising neighbor from whom they (the Californians) will most probably soon have to defend themselves, or rather submit to, for although the frontiers of North America are much more distant than the Russians yet to such men as the back settlers, distance is of little moment, and they are already well acquainted with the route. The North American tide of population must roll on southward and overwhelm not only California, but other more important states. This latter event, however, is in the womb of time. . . .[27]

Interest not in California 1842-1846.—And the time was nearer perhaps than even Forbes may have imagined. Immigration into California during the next four years was not particularly heavy. It will be remembered that interest during this period centered largely on Oregon and Texas. The emigration of 1842, and particularly that of 1843, was directed toward the Pacific Northwest. During the presidential election of 1844 the eyes of the entire nation were turned toward the Columbia and the Rio Grande. The acquisition of Texas was negotiated in 1845, and during the following year the forty-ninth parallel was extended across the

---

[26] Wilson, Benjamin D., *Observations on Early Days in California and New Mexico,* MS., Bancroft Collection. Bancroft, *California,* IV. 276-278.

[27] Forbes, Alexander, *California, a History of Upper and Lower California from Their First Discovery to the Present Time,* etc., London, 1839, 151, 152.

mountains to the Pacific, thereby adjusting the claims of the United States and Great Britain in that section. With these circumstances in mind, if one remembers also the remoteness of California, the difficulties of the overland journey, and the fact that the territory was indisputably Mexican soil, he may well be surprised at the number of emigrants who came during these years.

Overland immigration of 1843. — Lansford W. Hastings had crossed the plains in 1842 with the first important expedition of prospective settlers who came to Oregon. In the following year he led fifty odd people from Oregon to California, about one third of whom turned back with a company *en route* to Oregon from California. The only overland expedition apparently that came from the United States in 1843 was organized by Joseph B. Chiles who had gone out with the Bartleson company in 1841, but had returned to the settlements. Chiles left Independence in May with his party and followed the well-known route to Fort Hall. At Fort Laramie or in its vicinity the emigrants employed Joe Walker as a guide—a man who had been to California on a former occasion, as we have seen. Food had become scarce by the time the company reached Fort Hall, and it was determined that Chiles and a few followers should go down the Snake or Lewis River to Fort Boíse with the expectation of securing provisions there, and make their way over a new route to Sutter's Fort. From the latter place they would send aid to their comrades. Only the first part of the programme was successfully carried out, the small band entering California over an undefined route from Fort Boise by way of the Malheur and Pitt rivers.[28]

Route.—Walker was to bring the remainder of the party and the wagons over the southern route by which

[28] Fremont, *Report on an Exploration of the Country Lying between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains on the Line of the Kansas and Platte Rivers, House Doc. No. 166,* 28th Cong., 2d Sess., 165, 166 and 247.

he had left California in 1834. Following pretty nearly the direction taken by Bartleson in 1841 to the sink of the Humboldt River, he then led his expedition to Walker Lake. The journey south over the mountains to Owens River and Lake was made under great difficulties. This is said to have been the first party to enter California with wagons, but they were abandoned near Owens Lake, and some machinery which had been brought for establishing a sawmill was buried in the sand. With their remaining possessions on pack animals the company plodded on around Owens Peak and through Walker's Pass. "At Christmas time they were in camp, with abundance of game, grass, and water, which put an end to all their troubles, in a delightful vale, still known by Walker's name on the maps, on the headwaters of a tributary to the Salinas River." [29] They descended into the Salinas valley during the next month, proceeded to Gilroy's ranch, the present site of Gilroy, and scattered to different points in northern and central California.

Immigration of 1844 and 1845.—During the years 1844 and 1845 two hundred and fifty or three hundred immigrants reached California by land, including a small party that came from Oregon in the spring of the former year. Probably the most important of the expeditions of these years was that led by Elisha Stevens. There were more than fifty men in the party besides women and children when they left the Missouri River in May, 1844. At Fort Hall about half of the company directed their course to Oregon, and the others went to the Humboldt River which they descended to the sink. Thence they crossed the Sierras, following approximately the present line of the railroad, apparently the first to enter California over this route. They had employed an Indian guide to direct

[29] Bancroft, *California*, IV. 395.

them over the mountains, and for him the Truckee River is said to have been named.[30] The company reached the locality early in December which was later made historic through the sufferings of the Donner party. On the thirteenth of that month their arrival was announced by Sutter. During the following year a larger number of immigrants entered California and they came in several bands, from Oregon and from the Missouri frontier—but probably no new routes were opened by them. There was a large emigration to Oregon during 1845, and at Fort Hall every effort was made to turn the travelers to California. "The most extravagant tales were related respecting the dangers that awaited a trip to Oregon, and of the difficulties and trials to be surmounted. The perils of the way were so magnified as to make us suppose the journey almost impassable." The route to California, however, was declared to be short in comparison, and to possess "many other superior advantages."[31] The majority of the people could not be diverted from the Oregon trail, however, during these years.

Immigration of 1846.—The overland immigration of 1846 probably equalled or surpassed that of the five preceding years. The routes were fairly well outlined by this time and the country had been made known through the explorations of Frémont and others. This is illustrated by emigrants for both Oregon and California undertaking to reach their destinations by trying short cuts. The route followed by the Stevens company in 1844 became the most popular, and later was known as the California trail. Probably two thousand emigrants crossed the plains from Independence to Fort Laramie between May and July, 1846, about one fifth of

[30] Bancroft cites several newspapers published between 1875 and 1880 which speak of this. *California,* IV. 447, note.

[31] Palmer, Joel, *Journal of Travels over the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River,* Cincinnati, 1852, 43, 44.

whom came to California.[32] From widely different communities along the frontier small parties were formed that met and combined with others on their way to the rendezvous near the big bend of the Missouri. At the latter place frequently new groupings were made or old combinations would be enlarged through additions from new arrivals or through transfers from one group to another. Changes were made also along the line of march.

The best known of these parties is the so-called Donner party. The original expedition was formed in Sangamon County, Illinois, by George and Jacob Donner and James Reed, in April, 1846. When it left Independence in May it had become a part of a larger company of two or three hundred wagons. The party to which the name "Donner" has been applied was formed in the vicinity of Fort Bridger a few months later. The leaders from Sangamon County and a few companions withdrew from the main company intending "to avoid many hardships by taking the cut-off south of the lake," a route which had been partly explored by Frémont a few years earlier. Thirty-six men, twenty-one women, and thirty children, five of them infants, formed an expedition under the captaincy of George Donner. Other immigrants refused to join them, and by following the traveled route reached California in safety. Months were spent by the Donner party—from the 28th of July until about the middle of September—in making the "cut-off." This was the beginning of numerous bitter experiences which were to prove fatal to so many of the company. After passing around the southern end of Great Salt Lake they finally came to the Humboldt and followed the California trail. Stanton, one of their number, had been sent ahead to Sutter's Fort to procure supplies. On October 19 they met him

[32] Bancroft, *California*, V. 526, 527.

returning near the present town of Wadsworth, Nevada. Sutter had sent them a generous supply of dried beef and flour, and two Indian guides. Had they pressed forward the mountains might have been crossed in time, but they decided to rest their cattle a few days near the present site of Reno.

The tragedy of the Donner party.—On October 23 the company resumed their journey. At Prosser Creek, three miles below the present site of Truckee, they ran into six inches of snow. On the summit they found the snow to be five or six feet deep. The seriousness of their position was too obvious. On a cold, drizzly night in the early part of November, after they had tried in vain to break through the snowdrifts, they came together and agreed upon a plan of action. The mules and cattle were to be slain on the morrow and the meat was to be divided among the members of the party. The wagons and supplies were to be left at the lake which has since borne the name of the prominent members of the company, and the entire party was to cross the mountains on foot. During the night a heavy storm came on and the snow deepened. Day after day it fell. The mules disappeared and nearly all the cattle perished. Many of them were buried alive beneath the branches where they had sought shelter, and their bodies were found by driving sharpened sticks into the snow through the foliage around the tree-trunks. These were recovered, the meat stripped from the bones, and stored away for future use. A cabin was found standing near Donner Lake which had been built by the Stevens company, and other crude structures were hastily built and covered with brush and hides. November passed and December came, but time brought only death for relief. As Christmas was approaching a volunteer party of fifteen men and women, the "forlorn hope," started across the mountains on hastily improvised snowshoes to seek relief. They had supplied them-

selves with rations for six days. At Christmas time, when they had been without food for four days, they reached the "camp of death," and were snowbound for a week. Four of their number died and were eaten. Another four died a little later. The others reached the settlements after thirty-two days of toil and suffering, and relief parties began to form. Four of these went out at intervals from February 5 to April, 1847. The last relief party sent out found only one of the four they had expected to rescue, and he had maintained himself on the dead bodies of his former companions.[33] Forty-eight of the original eighty-seven survived the tragedy, and of these several lived for many years.

Overthrow of the Spanish regime.—In the spring of 1846, while the Donner party was preparing to cross the plains, war began between the United States and Mexico. On July 7 following, Commodore Sloat landed a force at Monterey, raised the American flag over the custom house, and posted a proclamation declaring California annexed to the United States. The feeble opposition that raised its head at various places, particularly in the south, was soon stamped out, and California became permanently a part of the United States. Meanwhile the War Department issued orders to General Kearny, who commanded the land expedition to New Mexico and California, authorizing him to establish a civil government in the territory conquered. Local officers who were in authority and who proved themselves to be friendly to the United States were to be retained in their positions, and their salaries were to be provided from import duties. When Kearny arrived in California near the end of 1846, he found that Stockton (who had succeeded Sloat) and

[33] McGlashan, C. F., *History of the Donner Party, A Tragedy of the Sierra,* is the best general work on this subject. Patrick Breen, *Diary* MS., Bancroft Collection, is the best on events at Donner Lake. Bancroft, *California,* V. 530-544, follows McGlashan.

Frémont had already taken charge of affairs in that province. The controversy which developed between Kearny and these officers was settled in favor of the former in February of the following year. With the general recognition of Kearny as governor, California settled down under the military authority of the United States, an authority which was to continue until it was turned over to the officers of a state government which had been organized under the direction of General Riley, the last ruler of the military régime.

During the period between the arrival of the Donner party and the discovery of gold, overland immigration to California was comparatively insignificant. This, then, is an appropriate place to take a cursory glance at the population and the location of settlements before taking up the gold rush.

Population and location of settlements.—It would not be possible to give the exact population of California at this time. Even the estimates may be far from accurate. Bancroft thinks the total, excluding Indians, was probably fourteen thousand, of whom six thousand, five hundred were foreigners.[34] Of the number of different nationalities represented in the territory by 1848, it is possible to speak with more certainty, but not with absolute assurance. We may be confident, however, that many nations were represented in California before the gold rush,[35] including all the leading and practically all the smaller nations of Europe, besides many islands of the Pacific. The majority were living with the Spanish-Californians in the towns along the coast. San Diego, Los Angeles, San Pedro, Santa Barbara, Monterey, San Jose, and San Francisco each had its quota of Americans, some of whom had married into prominent California families and occupied posi-

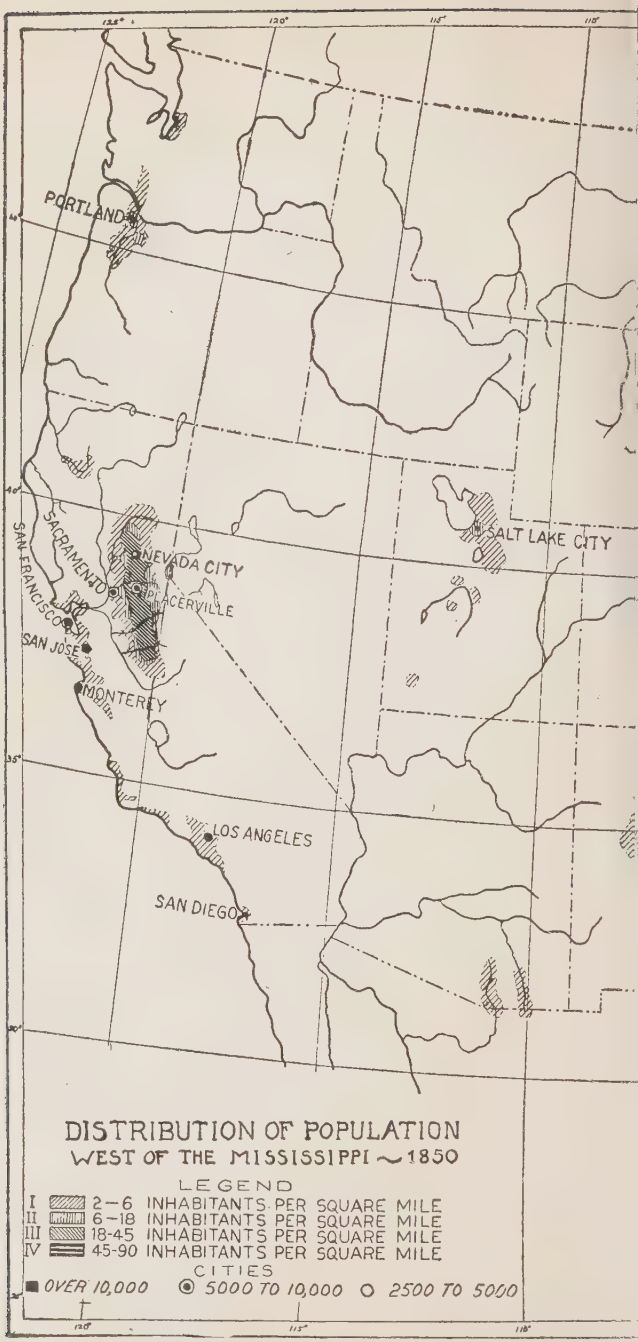
[34] Bancroft, *California*, V. 643.

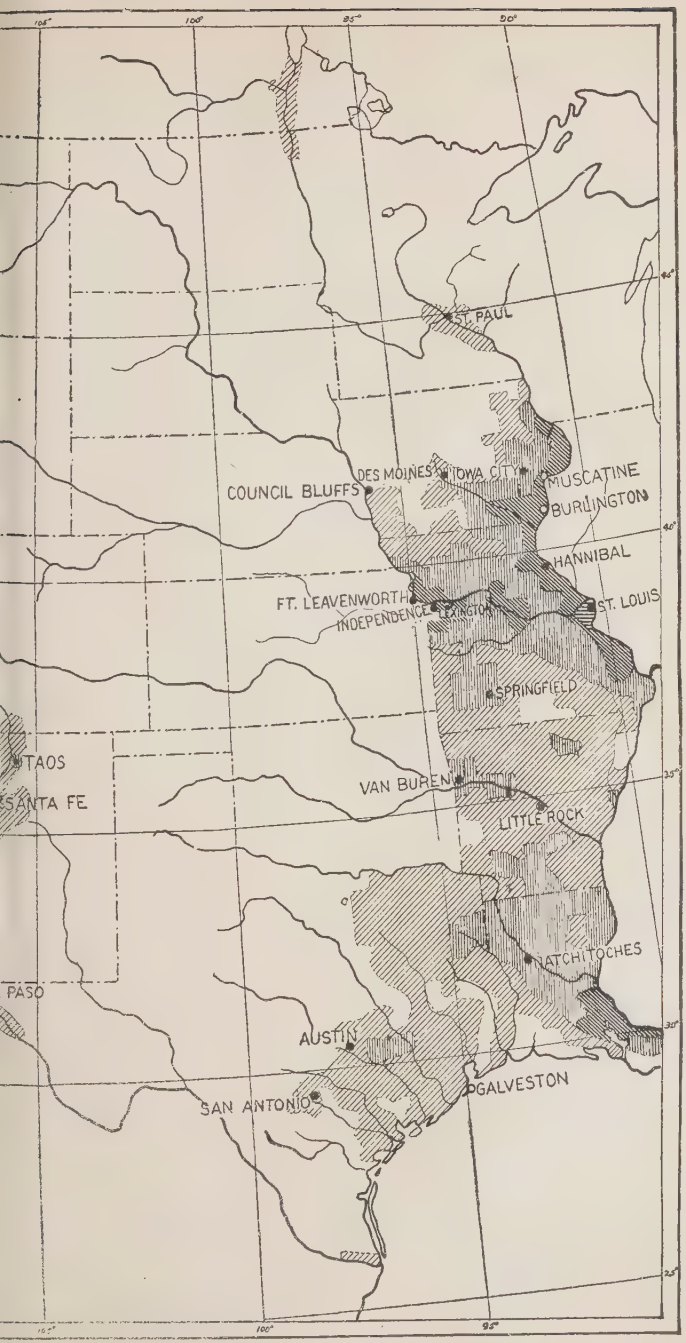
[35] Goodwin, *Establishment of State Government in California*, New York, 1914, 60.

tions of influence in the community. A few foreigners had begun to occupy the inland valleys. John Gilroy, a Scotch sailor, had established himself on a ranch where the present town of Gilroy stands. Thomas W. Doak, supposed to have been the first American settler to come to California, was in the vicinity of San Jose. Sutter was near the present city of Sacramento and, in December, 1847, reported a white population of two hundred and eighty men in the district. Charles M. Weber was on a ranch near French Camp doing his best to induce settlers to occupy the country around him. A temporary settlement called New Hope, or Stanislaus, had been made by the Mormons on the north bank of the Stanislaus River, near its mouth, in 1846. By the spring of 1847 there were ten or twelve of these thrifty people located there, but the floods and a call from their brethren at Salt Lake broke up the colony a little later. A few settlements had been made north of the present city of Stockton. Settlers had occupied parts of Napa and Sonoma valleys for several years, and even farther west, near the ocean shore, home seekers had found a place.[36] Some of these recently established settlements were to be deserted and others were to be promoted by the events of '48 and '49.

Report of gold discovery.—Gold was discovered at Coloma on the south fork of the American River on January 24, 1848. During February other places in the vicinity were found to contain the same precious material, and the news was dubiously received at Monterey. By the month of May all doubt was removed, and the people of San Francisco began to move to the mines. A few weeks later Governor Mason's soldiers began deserting. Larkin forwarded official news of the discovery on June 1, and this reached Washington about the middle of September. A little later a second

[36] For a detailed account of settlements in central and northern California *see* Bancroft, *California,* VI. Chapter I.


PORTLAND
SACRAMENTO
SAN FRANCISCO
SAN JOSÉ
MONTEREY
NEVADA CITY
PLACERVILLE
SALT LAKE CITY
LOS ANGELES
SAN DIEGO
DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION
WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI ~ 1850
LEGEND
I 2–6 INHABITANTS PER SQUARE MILE
II 6–18 INHABITANTS PER SQUARE MILE
III 18-45 INHABITANTS PER SQUARE MILE
IV 45-90 INHABITANTS PER SQUARE MILE
CITIES
OVER 10,000
5000 TO 10,000
2500 TO 5000


ST. PAUL
DES MOINES
IOWA CITY
MUSCATINE
COUNCIL BLUFFS
BURLINGTON
HANNIBAL
FT. LEAVENWORTH
INDEPENDENCE
ST. LOUIS
SPRINGFIELD
TAOS
SANTA FE
VAN BUREN
LITTLE ROCK
NATCHITOCHES
PASO
AUSTIN
GALVESTON
SAN ANTONIO

official messenger, bearing a box of gold, was sent East by Governor Mason, and this was placed on exhibition in the war office in Washington during the last of November or the first of December. Mason made a tour of the gold mines in the early part of the summer of 1848, and sent a report to the Adjutant General at Washington on August 17.

Official's report of what he saw in gold fields.— In this report he said that on his way from San Francisco to Sutter's Fort by way of Bodega and Sonoma he found mills lying idle, fields of wheat open to cattle and horses, houses vacant, and farms going to waste. At the Fort all was bustle and confusion. The only two employees Sutter had were receiving ten dollars a day. Merchants were paying him one hundred dollars a month rent per room, and a two-story house in the Fort was rented as a hotel at the rate of five hundred dollars a month. Twenty-five miles farther up the American River, at a point known as "Mormon diggings," he found the hillsides dotted with canvas tents and bush arbors, and about two hundred men were washing gold in the full glare of the hot sun, some with pans, others with close-woven Indian baskets, but the majority with a rude machine known as a cradle. Proceeding another twenty-five miles up the south branch of the American River, he found about four thousand people working with great success along the river, in the dry beds of streams, and on the mountain sides. A small gutter was pointed out to him, not over a hundred yards long, four feet wide, and two or three feet deep, where two men had obtained recently seventeen thousand dollars' worth of gold in seven days. Another small ravine in the same vicinity had produced twelve thousand dollars' worth of gold. "Hundreds of similar ravines, to all appearances, are as yet untouched. I could not have credited their reports had I not seen, in the abundance of the precious metal, evidence of their truth. Mr. Neligh,

an agent of Commodore Sto[illegible] had been at work about three weeks in the neigh[illegible]od, and showed me, in bags and bottles, over two t[illegible]d dollars' worth of gold; and Mr. Lyman, a ge[illegible]n of education and worthy of every credit, said h[illegible] been engaged, with four others, with a machine, [illegible] American fork just below Sutter's sawmill, that [illegible] worked eight days, and that his share was at the r[illegible] fifty dollars a day." The most moderate estimate [illegible]d obtain from men acquainted with conditions [illegible]t about four thousand men were at work in t[illegible]l district, of whom half were Indians, and that fr[illegible]rty to fifty thousand dollars' worth of gold was obtained daily. He could assert without hesitation that there was more than enough gold in the country drained by the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers to pay the cost of the Mexican war a hundred times over. To obtain it no capital was required, nothing but a pick, a shovel, and a tin pan with which to dig and wash the gravel. In fact, "many frequently pick gold out of the crevices of rock with their butcher knives in pieces from one to six ounces."[37]

Results of publication of report.—This report sent to Washington by Mason accompanied Polk's message to Congress December 5, 1848, and was published in the leading papers throughout the country. The results were immediate and widespread. Between December 14, 1848, and January 18, 1849, sixty-one vessels, averaging fifty passengers each, sailed to the Pacific coast from New York, Boston, Salem, Norfolk, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Many more left Charleston, New Orleans, and other ports during the same period for the gold regions. In February, 1849, sixty ships were announced to sail from New York, seventy from Philadelphia and Boston, and eleven from New Bedford. The demand was so great that vessels

[37] *California Message and Correspondence*, 1850, 528-536.

were diverted from every other service for the purpose of accommodating the throngs who were clamoring for passage to California. The fever spread to foreign nations, and by the middle of January, 1849, at least five different California trading and mining companies were registered in London with an aggregate capital of one million, two hundred and seventy-five pounds. In Europe the desire to emigrate was encouraged still further by the unsettled political conditions then prevailing. In the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for February 1, 1849, an announcement was published of the departure of vessels from Havre and from Bordeaux, and from ports of Spain, Germany, Holland, and Great Britain. Even the far East was stirred by the gold fever. The *Alta Californian* for May 10, 1852, stated that there were fifty-four Chinamen in California in February, 1849, a number which had increased to seven hundred and ninety-one by the end of the year, and by January, 1851, had passed the four thousand mark. In Australia it was almost impossible to secure passage on outgoing ships, and the people on the smaller islands of the Pacific were stirred by the gold news.[38]

Pacific Mail Steamship Company.—In the United States it soon became almost impossible to book passage for California. The Pacific Mail Steamship Company had been chartered just before gold was discovered, and its contract called for the operation of these vessels between Panama and the northern Pacific terminus which was changed from Astoria to San Francisco. The first of these ships, the *California,* came from New York around Cape Horn, and reached Panama in January, 1849, ready to begin its regular voyages between that place and San Francisco. Hundreds of gold-seekers had already crossed the isthmus, many of them with tickets to San Francisco purchased from agents of the

[38] Goodwin, *Establishment of State Government in California,* Chapter III.

steamship company, and were waiting for transportation to the Golden Gate. The *California* was supposed to provide accommodations for little over one hundred; more than four hundred were received on board, some of them paying a thousand dollars or more for steerage tickets. By the time the second vessel, the *Oregon,* arrived in March, the crowd had doubled. About five hundred were taken on board, and conditions had grown no better when the *Panama,* the third vessel, arrived in May.

The entrance of the *California* into the Bay of San Francisco on February 28, 1849, was an incident memorable in California history, and among the forty-niners, in later years, none were more proud of the perilous experiences of those early days than the ones who came on the initial trip of one of the steamers, the *Panama,* the *Oregon,* or, better still, the *California.*[39]

Immigration by land.—Many places within North America were not dependent upon vessels for transportation and were equally excited over the discovery of gold. From these places the people came overland. Burnett thought that at least two-thirds of the population of Oregon capable of bearing arms came to California in the summer and autumn of 1848.[40] Before the spring of 1848 about four thousand came from Mexico, principally from Sonora. In the spring of that year thousands of people from the United States began to assemble at Fort Smith, Independence, and Council Bluffs on the Arkansas and Missouri rivers, preparatory to crossing the plains. Bayard Taylor believed that thirty thousand people completed the trip.

> From the first of May to the first of June company after company took its departure . . . till the emigrant trail from Fort Leavenworth, on the Missouri, to Fort Laramie,

[39] Bancroft, *California,* VI. Chapter VIII.
[40] Burnett, *Recollections of the Past,* MS., I. 325.

at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, was one long line of mule-trains and wagons. The rich meadows of the Nebraska, or Platte, were settled for the time, and a single traveler could have journeyed for the space of a thousand miles, as certain of his lodging and regular meals as if he were riding through the old agricultural districts of the middle states.[41]

Overland routes of 1849.—Throughout the years 1849 and 1850 emigrants continued to enter California from all parts of the frontier. To those who came from the southern states a choice of many roads was open. They might go from New Orleans by steamer to Powder Horn on Matagorda Bay. A road extended thence west through Victoria and San Antonio to El Paso. From the last named place it was possible to go up the Rio Grande to Santa Fé and follow the old Spanish trail round the north bank of the Colorado, crossing the Virgin River to the Mojave River and desert, and through Cajon Pass to Los Angeles; or by General Kearny's line of march through Arizona and along the Gila to the Pacific coast; or again by Colonel Cook's route across the Sonora tableland to Yuma, and thence to the Pacific. Another frontier post of departure was Fort Smith, on the western border of Arkansas, from which place the traveler could continue west by one of three possible routes. The most southern route passed through the Choctaw and Chickasaw countries for about one hundred and eighty miles, crossed the Red River by ferryboat at Preston and ran through the border settlements of northern Texas for one hundred and fifty miles, finally connecting with the extreme southern route at El Paso. The middle route ran almost directly west from Fort Smith along the south bank of the Canadian River to Santa Fé and Albuquerque in New Mexico. The journey from these

[41] Taylor, *Eldorado*, II. 35.

points to California would be over one of the routes indicated above. The northern route from Fort Smith was called the "Cherokee Trail." It extended west to the Grand River, crossing that stream at Fort Gibson. Thence it ran a little north of west to the Verdigris River, following the north bank for a distance of about eighty miles. Crossing the Verdigris and extending northwest it struck the Arkansas River near old Fort Mann on the Santa Fé trail, whence it passed near the base of Pike's Peak to Cherry Creek, down that stream to the South Platte, and over the mountains to Utah and on to California.

The first two routes from Fort Smith were opened in 1849; the last—the Cherokee trail—may have been opened about the same time.[42]

The most widely traveled route in 1849 was that used by the fur traders and by the California and Oregon immigrants to Fort Bridger during the early forties. The Mormon trail, which had been used by Brigham Young and his followers when they moved across Iowa to Utah, followed the north bank of the Platte to Fort Laramie, and through South Pass to Salt Lake. This route was also used by emigrants in 1849 and 1850. From the vicinity of Fort Bridger the emigrants might reach California over the routes already indicated in connection with overland emigration preceding the gold rush. Even the route around the southern end of Great Salt Lake was used by a number of travelers, but the majority preferred to go to Soda Springs or Fort Hall. From the latter place emigrants followed the Snake River north of Goose Creek Mountains to Goose Creek and up that stream to the headwaters of the Humboldt River. Toward the end of 1849 or the be-

[42] Marcy, Randolph B., *The Prairie Traveler*, 16-19. Marcy, referring to the Cherokee trail, says: "It has been traveled by large parties of California emigrants for several years, and is well tracked and defined." His account was published in 1859.

ginning of 1850, a trail was opened from Bear River across the headwaters of Bannock, Fall, and Raft tributaries of Snake River to the main trail at the headwaters of Goose Creek, and thence along the Humboldt to the sink. The most popular route from the sink, and the most direct, was that followed approximately by the railroad to-day—along the Truckee River to its source in the lake of that name, thence down the Yuba to Feather and Sacramento rivers. A branch of this trail came in by Donner Lake and along the north branch of the American River. A northern route—known as the "death route" because of the bitter experiences of those who followed it in the early part of 1849, and not used very much later—left the Humboldt at the great bend of that river and extended northwest to Goose Lake, when it turned southward by the Oregon trail along Pitt River and Honey Lake into the Sacramento valley. A branch from this trail extended across the Upper Mud Lake to Honey Lake. South of the Truckee the Carson River route ran south of Lake Tahoe through Johnson Pass and down the south fork of the American River. A branch of this route extended south to the west fork of the Walker River, thence through the Sonora Pass to Sonora and Stockton.

The sufferings of overland emigrants.—The sufferings experienced by the gold-crazed immigrants of 1849 fell chiefly upon the late arrivals whose passage of the plains occurred at a time when water was scarce and the little grass left by the earlier caravans had dried up. The Indian ravages increased also. One hundred thousand dollars was appropriated by the government for relief during the year, and several parties went out from the mines to aid the sufferers. A combination of circumstances made the year 1850 even more disastrous than the preceding one had been. Emigrants undertook the trip with inadequate supplies, and found the Mormon way-station unable to provide them. The Hum-

boldt overflowed and compelled the travelers to go by way of the barren uplands which lengthened the journey and starved the animals. So many of the latter perished in the sink that the effluvia from the putrefying bodies spread the cholera through the ranks of the enfeebled crowds.[43] The sufferings were perhaps unparalleled in the annals of overland emigration in America.

Dissatisfaction with existing political conditions.—Meanwhile the all-absorbing topic of gold did not prevent the people of California from making unfriendly comments on the existing political régime in the territory. The military governors had adopted the diplomatic scheme of ruling the country through the Mexican political machinery which they had found functioning lamely at the time of the conquest. This was appreciated by the Californians. The immigration of 1849, however, had increased the Anglo-American population out of all proportion to the native element in the country, and the former had little sympathy for the feelings of the latter and no respect for their political institutions. Furthermore, the Americans were made more impatient by the apparent indifference of their own government at Washington. The treaty of Guadaloupe Hidalgo had been signed in February, 1848, and accepted by the Senate in March following, but Congress made no provision for the government of the new acqusition at that session. This the people in California might be expected to overlook. They did it very impatiently. In fact, when Congress met in December, 1848, and adjourned again in March, 1849, without enacting regulations for the government of the territory, the people had already become aggressive on their own behalf.[44]

State government organized.—General Riley became military governor of California in April, 1849.

[43] Bancroft, *California,* VI. 154, 155 and notes.

[44] Goodwin, *Establishment of State Government in California,* 61-70.

He had determined soon after his arrival to permit the people to form a government, but he was equally determined to take the initiative in such a move. In May, 1849, he received authentic news that Congress had adjourned without providing territorial government, and on June 3 following, he issued a proclamation calling a convention to meet at Monterey on August 1 for the purpose of drawing up a plan of government. It was the early part of September before a sufficient number of delegates had arrived to begin work. The convention was in session from September 3 until October 13. During that time it determined the boundaries for the proposed state, drew up a creditable constitution forbidding slavery, and fixed November 13 as the day upon which the men of the territory might pass on what had been done. On the day indicated, the constitution was adopted, and officers were chosen for the Lower House of Congress and for the state government. The latter began to function on December 15, 1849. The first legislature was in session until April 22, 1850, during which time it chose United States senators, and enacted the laws necessary to bring order out of the chaotic conditions existing in the territory.

Admission into Union.—While these things were going on in California, congressmen at Washington were trying to find some plan for an amicable settlement of the slavery controversy—a controversy which had been aggravated by the Mexican cession. Foote offered a resolution in the Senate on December 27, 1849, as follows: "That it is the duty of Congress, at this session, to establish suitable territorial governments for California, for Deseret, and for New Mexico."[45] In his famous compromise resolutions introduced into the Senate on January 29, 1850, Clay said that "California, with suitable boundaries, ought, upon her application, to be ad-

[45] *Journal of the Senate*, 31st Cong., 1st Sess., 34.

mitted as one of the states of the Union, without the imposition by Congress of any restriction in respect to the exclusion or introduction of slavery within those boundaries." [46] About the middle of February, while the debate over the conflicting issues was in full swing, President Taylor forwarded to both Houses of Congress copies of the constitution which California had adopted. Several weeks were spent by the leaders of the Senate in discussion and in diplomatic fencing before they could put through any sort of scheme. Finally, on April 18, a committee of thirteen was appointed to work out and submit a plan for settling the various issues that were agitating Congress. This committee made its report on May 8, and among other things recommended the admission of California into the Union under the constitution which she had submitted to Congress. This recommendation was accepted by both Houses of Congress, and the bill admitting California was signed by President Fillmore on September 9, 1850.

Bibliographical Notes

American Settlement of California: The best general history containing information on the subject is H. H. Bancroft, *History of California,* 7 vols., San Francisco, 1884-1890. Other helpful works are: Robert Glass Cleland, "The Early Sentiment for the Annexation of California: an Account of the Growth of American Interest in California from 1835 to 1846," in the Southwestern Historical *Quarterly,* XVIII, Nos. 1, 2, and 3; Walter Colton, *Three Years in California,* New York, 1852; Katharine Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West: How We Won the Land Beyond the Mississippi,* 2 vols., New York, 1912; William Heath Davis, *Sixty Years in California, Personal, Political, and Military,* San Francisco, 1889; Zoeth Skinner Eldridge (editor), *History of California,* 5 vols., New York; *Ibid., The Beginnings of San Francisco from the Expedition of Anza, 1774, to the City Charter, of April 15, 1850, with Biographical and other Notes,* 2 vols., San Francisco, 1912; Alexander Forbes, *California: A History of Upper and*

[46] *Cong. Globe.,* 31st Cong., 1st Sess., Part I, 244.

Lower California from Their First Discovery to the Present Time, etc., London, 1839; John Frost, *History of the State of California from the Period of the Conquest by Spain to her Occupation by the United States of America,* New York, 1857; Cardinal Goodwin, *The Establishment of State Government in California, 1846-1850,* New York, 1914; Horace Greeley *Autobiography of Horace Greeley, or Recollections of a Busy Life,* New York, 1872; Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California,* 4 vols., San Francisco, 1885-1897; *Ibid., History of the City of San Francisco,* San Francisco, 1878; John B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War,* 8 vols., New York, 1883-1913; Henry K. Norton, *The Story of California from the Earliest Days to the Present,* Chicago, 1913; Irving B. Richman, *California under Spain and Mexico, 1535-1847,* Boston, 1911; Josiah Royce, *California from the Conquest in 1846 to the Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco, a Study of American Character* (American Commonwealth series), Boston, 1886; William Redmond Ryan, *Personal Adventures in Upper and Lower California,* 2 vols., London, 1852; Bayard Taylor, *Eldorado, or Adventures in the Path of Empire,* 2 vols., New York, 1850 (other editions); Frank Tuthill, *The History of California,* San Francisco, 1866; Frank Soulé, John H. Gibson, and James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco; Containing a Summary of the History of the First Discovery, Settlement, Progress, and Present Condition of California, and a Complete History of all the Important Events Connected with its Great City; to which Are Added Biographical Memoirs of Some Prominent Citizens,* New York, 1855.

The *Overland Monthly* and the *Century* magazines contain articles which bear on the settlement of California. Additional material is cited in the bibliographies given in Bancroft and other works noted above.

CHAPTER XIV

THE MEXICAN CESSION

The public interest aroused over California through the incidents related in the early part of the preceding chapter finally compelled the attention of the government at Washington and led to the acquisition of territory from Mexico in 1848 and in 1853, which rounded out the possessions of the United States on the Pacific coast. It is the purpose here to trace these events briefly.

Texas and California.—In 1835 the administration at Washington probably made its first attempt to acquire the harbor of San Francisco.[1] These early negotiations formed a minor part of the temporary scheme for acquiring Texas. In 1829 Anthony Butler succeeded Joel R. Poinsett as minister to Mexico, and for six months the former was permitted to prosecute his designs unmolested. Bribery was to be the weapon he would use, and his communications to the Department of State from the beginning indicate that he desired to have his government sanction any of the tortuous paths of diplomacy his own crooked nature might find most congenial. He asked to return to the United States early in June, 1834, for the purpose of having a personal interview with the President on matters of vital importance. Jackson at last gave his consent, and a year later Butler landed in New York "with a still more extensive scheme of bribery in his head than any he had so far suggested, and in his pocket a note signed by Hernandez, a priest standing close to Santa Anna."[2] Butler

[1] For a discussion of the statement sometimes made that there were earlier attempts to acquire California, *see* Cleland, *The Early Sentiment for the Annexation of California,* 12, 13.

[2] *Ibid.,* 14.

addressed a letter to Forsyth, the Secretary of State, a few days after his arrival, and enclosed a note from the Mexican priest. The latter had promised to bring about a cession of certain territory provided a sum of five thousand dollars was placed in the hands of the priest. Butler recommended that this sum be provided and placed at the disposal of Hernandez. It would result not merely in the acquisition of Texas, Butler said, but "would only be the first of a series which must at last give us dominion over the whole of that tract of territory known as New Mexico, and higher and lower California, an empire in itself, a paradise in climate . . . rich in minerals and affording a water route to the Pacific through the Arkansas and Colorado rivers."[3]

First official attempt to acquire California.—This letter was written on June 17, 1835. On August 1 following any interest which may have been roused in California as a result of Butler's epistle was increased by the receipt of a letter from William A. Slacum, a purser in the United States navy, to President Jackson. It was the latter communication, according to John Quincy Adams, "which kindled the passion of Andrew Jackson for the thirty-seventh line of latitude from the river Arkansas to the South Sea, to include the river and bay of San Francisco, and was the foundation of Forsyth's instruction to Butler of August 6, 1835, authorizing him to offer five hundred thousand dollars more than he had received authority for before."[4] These instructions included the first official attempt of authorities in Washington to secure from Mexico any part of her territory on the Pacific. Forsyth said the chief object should be to obtain possession of San Francisco Bay. This, the President had been informed, would afford the most

[3] Quoted in Reeves, J. S., *American Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk*, 73, 74.

[4] *Memoirs*, XI. 348.

convenient harbor for the numerous whaling vessels in the Pacific.[5] No additional territory was sought, and this proposal intrusted to Butler was not submitted to the Mexican government. The American representative thought it would be unwise to make the offer to purchase the harbor of San Francisco at the time, but it was barely possible that certain commercial privileges for American ships might be secured. However, Butler was not to have the credit for obtaining even this concession. He received notice of his recall a few months later, and left Mexico.

Further attempts during Jackson's administration.—Apparently nothing was done immediately after Butler's summary dismissal to carry out the instructions contained in Forsyth's despatch of August 6, but before his term of office expired Jackson made two further attempts to secure Mexican territory on the Pacific. Santa Anna arrived in Washington about the middle of January, 1837, following his liberation by Houston. He came to request the mediation of the United States between Mexico and Texas. Jackson would attempt the rôle of mediator providing Mexico would, among other things, "extend the line of the United States to the Rio Grande—up that stream to latitude thirty-eight north and then to the Pacific including north California." For this concession the United States would agree to pay three and a half million dollars.[6] On January 24, 1837, Wharton, the Texan minister in Washington, wrote John Forsyth, Secretary of State, that Jackson insisted "Texas must claim the Californias on the Pacific in order to paralyze the opposition of the North and East to annexation" by giving them a harbor on the Pacific coast. "He is very earnest and anxious on this point of claiming the Californias and says we

[5] Forsyth to Butler, August 6, 1835, in *House Ex. Doc., No. 42,* 25th Cong., 1st Sess., 18, 19.

[6] Cleland, *Early Sentiment for Annexation of California,* 17.

must not consent to less. This is strict confidence. Glory to God in the highest." [7]

Interest in California maintained.—However, Jackson did not succeed either in acquiring California or in persuading Texas to claim it. The panic broke with all its fury following the accession of Van Buren to the presidency in 1837. This with the strained relations between the United States and Mexico during the period would prevent attempts to purchase even if Mexico had been willing to sell, but interest in California increased as time passed. When news of the rebellion of 1836 reached the United States it was accompanied by rumors of a possible union between an independent California and Russia, which would mean the extension of the Czar's power from the bay of San Francisco to the Columbia River. The interest and writings of Hall J. Kelley were confined largely to the Oregon country, but he believed California should become a part of the western possessions of the United States. During this same period interest in California was increased by the appearance of Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast,* and Forbes's *California: a History of Upper and Lower California.* In 1840 occurred the Graham affair which has been noted already. The delay on the part of the Mexican government in paying some of the claims made by Americans who were arrested at the time created comment and was later made the subject of official protest. During the latter part of 1841, as a result of the request of California merchants along the coast, the Secretary of the Navy in his annual report recommended an increase in the government's squadron in the Pacific, and later sent Commodore Jones to command the enlarged fleet.[8] All of these things together with overland immigration kept alive and extended the interest of the people of the United States in California.

[7] *Texan Diplomatic Correspondence,* I. 193, 194.
[8] Cleland, *Early Sentiment for Annexation of California,* 18, 23.

Waddy Thompson's recommendations.—With the accession of Tyler to the presidency following the death of Harrison the United States renewed its efforts to get control of Alta California. Powhatan Ellis had urged the purchase of certain ports of the Pacific because of the increase of American commerce and the growing importance of the whale fisheries. A more definite movement for acquiring the territory was set on foot with the arrival in Mexico of Waddy Thompson in April, 1842. In his first communication to Webster he expressed the belief that Mexico would cede both Texas and California to the United States in return for a cancellation of American claims. Of the two, however, California was the more desirable. It was "the richest, the most beautiful, and the healthiest country in the world. Our Atlantic border secures us a commercial ascendancy there; with the acquisition of Upper California we should have the same ascendancy on the Pacific." The possession of the harbors of San Diego and Monterey would give the nation necessary ports for her whaling vessels, and by opening internal communication with the Arkansas and other western streams the trade of India and the whole Pacific Ocean might be secured. Not only would California be an asset from a commercial point of view, but he was persuaded that it would be of immense value in an agricultural way, and that in time it might be expected to become the "granary of the Pacific." It was "a country in which slavery is not necessary, and, therefore, if that is made an objection let there be another compromise. France and England both have their eyes upon it." And concluding, he said:

> I am profoundly satisfied that in its bearing upon all the interests of our country, agricultural, political, manufacturing, commercial, and fishing, the importance of the acquisition of California cannot be overestimated. If I

could mingle any selfish feelings with interest to my country so vast, I would desire no higher honor than to be an instrument in securing it.[9]

A few days later Thompson wrote the President in a similar vein, and requested him to read the despatch which he had sent to Webster. He felt confident that he could procure Upper California, and if accomplished it would be by far the most important event in the history of the United States. He besought the President for special instructions on the subject, "both as to moving on the matter and the extent to which I am to go in the negotiations and the amount to be paid." Like Jackson, he believed the people of the North could be reconciled to the acquisition because of their large fishing and commercial interests there.

> Be pleased also to have me pretty strongly instructed on the subject of our claims or leave the responsibility to me. Procrastination, the policy of all weak governments, is peculiarly so with this, and they are very poor and will never pay us one farthing unless pretty strong measures are taken.[10]

Webster's reply to Thompson.—These letters were written during the last of April and the early part of May, 1842. Webster replied on June 27 following. Thompson was given full liberty to approach Mexico on the subject of ceding a part of her territory on the Pacific. A part or all of the claims which the United States held against Mexico might be settled in this way providing the latter was willing. Not only did Webster desire the harbor of San Francisco, but he expressed the belief that if this were ceded the province of California would naturally accompany the port. Thompson was not to make too much of the latter point. In fact he thought it might be more diplomatic and useful if the

[9] Quoted in *ibid.*, 28, and in Rives, *United States and Mexico*, II. 45, 46.
[10] *Ibid.*, 28, 29.

American minister should at that time emphasize the convenience and benefit of San Francisco harbor itself, and imply that it was the chief thing desired by the United States. The exercise of tact and moderation was urged, and Thompson was especially warned against giving the impression that the United States was eager to conclude the purchase. It would be much better to leave the impression among Mexican officials that the United States was willing to settle the claims in this way simply to accommodate Mexico. The cession must be spoken of rather as a convenience to Mexico, as a mode of discharging her debts. By no means give countenance to any extravagant expectations. Avoid all premature commitments, content yourself with sounding the government, endeavor to hear more than you say, to learn more than you communicate; and apprise us promptly and regularly of all that may occur on the subject.[11]

A few months later an incident occurred which interrupted negotiations. This was the seizure of the port of Monterey by Commodore Jones who was in command of the Pacific squadron. Jones thought he had reliable information that war had begun between the United States and Mexico and that California was about to pass into British hands as a result. He moved to Monterey at once and seized the town without experiencing any opposition from the Mexican officials stationed there. He was convinced almost immediately of his error and surrendered the town with a formal apology to the officials, and sailed away.[12] The incident aroused bitter feeling in Mexico and resulted in Commodore Jones's being recalled and relieved of his

[11] Webster to Thompson in *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster,* 18 vols. (National Edition), Boston, 1903, XIV. 611, 612. *See also* Cleland, *Early Sentiment for Annexation of California,* 29; Reeves, *American Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk,* 102.

[12] For a detailed account of this incident *see* Bancroft, *California,* IV. 298-329, and the reference given there.

command temporarily, and to Mexico were offered apologies for what had been done. The affair roused some severe criticism in the United States which was reported in Mexico, and increased the feeling of hostility there to such an extent that Thompson felt it necessary to inform his government that it was " 'wholly out of the question to do anything as to California and after recent events there it would be imprudent to allude to it in any way,' the only possibility of securing territory at all lying in a cession of San Francisco some time in the future when Mexico should find herself unable to pay the awards of the American claims." [13]

Proposed Tripartite Agreement.—Tyler's desire for California led to an attempt to acquire it through sounding Great Britain upon its acquisition at about the same time that Thompson was corresponding with Webster on the subject. This was to be done by an arrangement among the three powers of the United States, Mexico, and Great Britain. Webster instructed Everett, the American ambassador at London, to make overtures to Her Majesty's government in an informal way for the purpose of settling the Oregon question, "and the matters in dispute between Mexico and the United States by a tripartite arrangement which should, as one provision, embrace a cession to the United States of the port of San Francisco on the coast of California." The idea had come to form an important place in the plans of the administration by the beginning of 1843. The Mexican government was to be approached by Thompson, and the subject was also brought to the attention of the Mexican minister at Washington, Almonte. It was understood that England favored the proposal and an outline to serve as a basis for negotiations was sent to Everett by Webster. According to these terms: (1) Mexico was to cede Upper California

[13] Cleland, *Sentiment for Annexation of California*, 31; Reeves, *American Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk*, 103.

to the United States; (2) the United States would pay —— millions of dollars for the cession; (3) of this sum, —— millions of dollars were to be paid to American claimants against Mexico; (4) the remainder to be paid to English creditors or bondholders of Mexico; and (5) the Oregon boundary was to be settled along the line of the Columbia.[14]

Both the President and his Secretary of State believed the tripartite arrangement would satisfy all sections of the country, and the former was particularly anxious to have the admission of California included in any treaty that might be drawn up as a result of the negotiations. Tyler discussed the subject with Webster and manifested a desire to send him on a special mission to England, a diplomatic undertaking which the Secretary of State expressed a willingness to undertake if by doing so he could settle the Oregon question and obtain California. However, Congress did not take kindly to the suggestion of a special mission, and the President then endeavored to persuade Everett, the British ambassador, to accept the new embassy to China in order to make it possible for Webster to accept the place in England and carry through the cherished scheme under discussion. To this suggestion Everett did not agree, and at about the same time Thompson's communication arrived informing the administration that it would be unwise to approach Mexico on the cession of any territory. Webster felt that he had accomplished all that it would be possible for him to achieve and retired from the cabinet.

Following the death of Webster's immediate successor, Hugh S. Legare, within a month after he had come into office, the cabinet was reorganized and in July, 1843, Abel P. Upshur became Secretary of State. A few months later, February 28, 1844, Upshur was

[14] Webster to Everett in *Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster*, 18 vols. (National Edition), Boston, 1903, XVI. 394.

killed by the explosion of a cannon on board the ship of war *Princeton,* and John C. Calhoun became head of the Department of State.

Breach between Mexico and England.—Meanwhile the relations between Mexico and England became strained and the communications sent to the State Department by Waddy Thompson again discussed the possibility of acquiring California. His despatch of September 28, 1843, informed the Secretary of State that the strong bond of friendship which had existed between England and Mexico was giving place to resentment which had manifested itself in an open insult to the British flag. Five days later the American minister reported an interview with Santa Anna in which the latter had said that an outbreak of hostilities between Mexico and Great Britain seemed probable, in which case the Mexican people would expect the United States to protect California. In a still later communication, October 14, Thompson again referred to the subject, and predicted that in case of hostilities actually beginning between the two countries Mexico would cede California to the United States to prevent England from seizing it.

> You will remember [Thompson said] that it was the fear of the seizure of Louisiana by England that induced Bonaparte to cede it to us. The acquisition of California will be of little less importance. . . . There is no prospect whatever of such a cession but in the event of a war between Mexico and England. Then nothing would be easier.[15]

Duff Green as special agent.—Calhoun had succeeded Upshur as Secretary of State early in 1844. Nothing was accomplished by him toward acquiring California, but in the fall of that year he sent his friend,

[15] Cleland, *Sentiment for Annexation of California,* 32-35, and references given there.

Duff Green, as his special agent to coöperate with Ben E. Green, Duff Green's son, in attempts to acquire Texas, New Mexico, and California. Green was soon convinced that there was not the slightest possibility of gaining the consent of Mexico to cede any part of her territory to the United States. Despite the chaotic conditions in Mexico and the bitterness of factional strife there, the principle was maintained that to sell any part of the public domain to the United States would be treason. In fact it would be worse than folly to expect a party in Mexico to surrender any portion of Texas or California. The faction bold enough to attempt it would certainly be overthrown and its leaders shot. Public sentiment would not support a party that would attempt it.

Polk's policy of expansion.—Jackson and Tyler had failed, but such was not to be the record of James K. Polk. The last named came into the presidential chair with a well-defined program. It was not dictated to him entirely by his party, nor were his political associates and advisers responsible for formulating it. The last part of it in particular was the President's own, and his single term in office witnessed the completion of the entire program. The four measures upon which he had set his mind were (1) the reduction of the tariff; (2) the establishment of a subtreasury; (3) the settlement of the Oregon question; and (4) the acquisition of California. Polk then came into office with a positive and definite policy of expansion. He had been there but a short time before he unfolded his plan for acquiring California to the members of the Cabinet.

Parrott's mission.—Diplomatic relations with Mexico had been suspended when Polk came into office. The Mexican minister at Washington, Almonte, had left in a huff because of the alleged hostile attitude of the United States toward his country as indicated by the annexation of Texas. Meanwhile the United States

minister in Mexico, William Shannon, had requested and received his passports, together with a severe condemnation of the attitude of the United States toward Mexico. These strained relations, however, did not prevent Polk from immediately inaugurating plans for acquiring New Mexico and California. On April 3, 1845, Almonte left New York for Mexico. On board the same ship was Dr. William S. Parrott, who went as the secret agent of the President for the purpose of reopening diplomatic relations with the Mexican government. Parrott had practiced dentistry in the City of Mexico several years earlier, and subsequently had failed in a business engagement there as a result of which he held a claim against the Mexican government. The President, however, probably knew nothing of this at the time Parrott was appointed. He was instructed to reach the President and other prominent officials in Mexico and endeavor, by the use of every honorable means, to convince them that the true interest of their country required a restoration of friendly relations between the two republics. If he became convinced of the willingness of Mexico to receive an envoy from the United States, then, but not until then, was he to disclose his own official character. "While you ought not to conceal that the reunion of Texas with the United States is already decreed and can never under any consideration be abandoned, you are at liberty to state your confident belief that in regard to all settled questions, we are prepared to meet Mexico in a liberal and friendly spirit." The United States was ready to send a minister to Mexico "as soon as they receive authentic information that he will be kindly received." [16]

[16] Quoted in Reeves, *Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk*, 268, 269. Reeves thinks that Polk's selection of Parrott was a strange one. He had urged claims against Mexico for a supply of English ale, "in a manner that disgusted Thompson, as the records of the State Department would have shown. Thompson's comment on Parrott's claim was that it had grown more enormously than 'Jonah's gourd.'" *Ibid.*, 270.

Parrott's report.—Parrott was persuaded from the first that Great Britain exercised an undue influence over Mexican affairs and that there was danger of California's falling into the hands of that nation. Early in June he got into indirect communication with the Mexican government and reported that no one believed war would be declared against the United States on account of Texas. The Mexican people were foolish and presumptuous, he said, but hardly enough so to force the administration "to adopt a measure which if persisted in might ere long endanger the national existence of their country." This was his report of July 12, 1845. On August 26 following, he informed Buchanan, the Secretary of State, that a new cabinet had been formed by Herrera which was more in sympathy with Herrera's views, and that no war would be urged on account of Texas. The desire to receive a commissioner from the United States had been publicly manifested, "and every vessel that arrives at Isla Verde is said to have one on board. I have reason to believe that an envoy from the United States would not only be well received, but his arrival would be hailed with joy. An envoy possessing suitable qualifications for this Court might with comparative ease settle *over a breakfast* the most important national question, while such as we have lately had here would make matters worse." [17]

Slidell to be appointed Minister to Mexico.—John Black and F. M. Dimond, United States consuls at Mexico City and at Vera Cruz respectively, also informed the administration that the Mexican government desired to reëstablish diplomatic relations. Polk discussed the subject with members of his cabinet, and at a regular meeting of that body on September 16 it was unanimously determined to send a minister to Mexico, but "it was to be kept a profound secret that such a step was contemplated, for the reason mainly that if

[17] Quoted in *ibid.*, 271.

it was known in advance in the United States that a minister had been sent to Mexico, it would, of course, be known to the British, French, and other Foreign Ministers at Washington, who might take measures to thwart or defeat the objects of the mission." [18] At the same meeting it was agreed that John Slidell should be offered the mission.

Polk had said to the cabinet, according to his *Diary,* that one great object of the mission was to adjust a permanent boundary between the United States and Mexico, and that in doing this Slidell would be instructed to purchase Upper California and New Mexico. A better boundary, Polk thought, would be the Del Norte (Rio Grande) from its mouth to El Paso and thence west to the Pacific, the territory north and east of that line to be ceded to the United States. The cost of such a boundary was of secondary importance. It might be acquired for fifteen or twenty million, but the President was willing to pay forty million if necessary to acquire it. The next day the President wrote Slidell a confidential letter informing him that it was the intention of the government to appoint him and requested him to be ready to depart on the Mexican mission on a day's notice.

Meanwhile Parrott's mission in Mexico had become known, and the Mexican government under Herrera was denounced for tolerating him, and was accused of engaging in treason. On November 1, *El Amigo del Pueblo,* a Mexican newspaper declared:

> This vile government has been and is in correspondence with the usurpers. The Yankee Parrott and the American consul at Mexico are those who have agreed with the government for the loss of Texas, and this same Parrott has departed for the North to say to his government to send a commissioner to make with our government an igno-

[18] Polk's *Diary,* I. 34.

minious treaty on the basis of the surrender of Texas and we know not what other part of the republic.

Parrott was characterized as a shameless sharper and adventurer, and was accused of having revealed the information regarding his mission before leaving Mexico.[19]

Slidell's formal appointment had been held up temporarily following the cabinet meeting of September 17. Parrott's mission ended October 18, and he carried with him to Washington a note from Black, the American consul, which was emphatic in its assurance that the Mexican government was inclined to adjust the questions in dispute between the two republics. Meanwhile despatches came from Commodore Connor, who commanded the naval forces in the Gulf of Mexico, expressing similar views. On November 10, 1845, the day following Parrott's arrival in Washington, Buchanan sent Slidell his appointment as "Envoy extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Mexico," together with his instructions.

Slidell's instructions.—"To counteract the influence of foreign Powers, exerted against the United States in Mexico and to restore those ancient relations of peace and good will which formerly existed between the Governments and the citizens of the sister republics will be the principal object of your mission." The subject of claims against Mexico was reviewed at some length, and Slidell was informed that it would be his "duty, in a prudent and friendly spirit, to impress the Mexican government with a sense of their great injustice toward the United States, as well as the patient forbearance which has been exercised by us." This could not be expected to continue much longer unless these claims were settled in a satisfactory way as soon as possible. Of course Mexico could not settle them. She

[19] Reeves, *Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk*, 273.

was in no position to do so. They would have to be assumed by the American government. "Fortunately, the joint Resolution of Congress, approved March 1, 1845, 'for annexing Texas to the United States,' presents the means of satisfying these claims, in perfect consistency with the interests as well as the honor of both republics. It has reserved to this government the adjustment 'of all questions of boundary that might arise with other governments.' This question of boundary may therefore be adjusted in such a manner between the two republics, as to cast the burden of the debt due to American claimants upon their own government, whilst it will do no injury to Mexico."

Then follows a discussion of the respective rights of Texas and Mexico to territory involved in the dispute over the Texas boundary. In considering the question, the Mexican government was informed that the "independence of Texas must be considered a settled fact, and is not to be called in question." This accepted by Mexico, Slidell was to point out to that nation the advantages that might come, both in relief from difficulties and from expense in protecting so remote a territory, if the boundary could be adjusted so that the settlements in the "long and narrow valley of New Mexico or Santa Fé" would be included within the limits of the United States. If Mexico manifested a willingness to surrender New Mexico to the United States, Slidell was "authorized to offer to assume the payment of all the just claims of our citizens against Mexico, and, in addition, to pay five millions of dollars." A still more desirable boundary "would be an extension of the line from the northwest corner of New Mexico, along the range of mountains, until it would intersect the forty-second parallel." If Mexico rejected these, the American minister was to offer to pay all the just claims of citizens of the United States providing the southern republic recognized the boundary Texas had estab-

lished December 19, 1836: the Rio Grande from its mouth to its source, thence north to the forty-second parallel.

It is scarcely to be supposed, however, that Mexico would relinquish five millions of dollars for the sake of retaining the narrow strip of territory in the valley of New Mexico, west of the Rio Grande, and thus place under two distinct Governments the small settlements closely identified with each other, on the opposite banks of the river.

There was another subject which would demand the particular attention of the American minister. "From information possessed by this Department it is to be seriously apprehended that both Great Britain and France have designs upon California." The United States was vitally interested in such a possible transfer. If any such design exists, "you will exert all your energies to prevent an act which, if consummated, would be so fraught with danger to the best interest of the United States."

Buchanan then calls Slidell's attention to the great importance of San Francisco Bay to the United States. Its advantages were striking and too obvious to require enumeration.

If all these should be turned against our country, by the cession of California to Great Britain, our principal commercial rival, the consequences would be disastrous.

The Government of California is now but nominally dependent on Mexico, and it is more than doubtful whether her authority will ever be reinstated. Under these circumstances, it is the desire of the President that you shall use your best efforts to obtain a cession of that Province from Mexico to the United States. Could you accomplish this object, you would render immense service to your country and establish an enviable reputation for yourself. Money would be no object when compared to the value of the

acquisition. Still the attempt must be made with great prudence and caution, and in such a manner as not to alarm the jealousy of the Mexican government. Should you, after sounding the Mexican authorities on the subject, discover a prospect of success, the President would not hesitate to give, in addition to the assumption of the just claims of our citizens on Mexico, twenty-five millions of dollars for the cession. Should you deem it expedient, you are authorized to offer this sum for a boundary, running due West from the southern extremity of New Mexico to the Pacific Ocean, or from any other point on its western boundary, which would embrace Monterey within our limits. If Monterey cannot be obtained, you may, if necessary, in addition to the assumption of these claims, offer twenty millions of dollars for any boundary, commencing at any point on the western line of New Mexico, and running due West to the Pacific, so as to include the bay and harbor of San Francisco. . . . Of course when I speak of any point on the western boundary of New Mexico, it is understood, that, from the Del Norte to that point, our boundary shall run according to the first offer which you have been authorized to make. I need scarcely add, that, in authorizing the offer of five millions or twenty-five millions or twenty millions of dollars, these are to be considered as the maximum sums.

A treaty might be concluded if he could accomplish any of the objects specified. The delicacy and importance of his mission was emphasized. The people to whom he was sent were proverbially jealous, and the intrigues of foreign powers had irritated them against the United States.

To conciliate their good will is indispensable to your success. I need not warn you against wounding their national vanity. You may probably have to endure their unjust reproaches with equanimity. It would be difficult to raise a point of honor between the United States and so feeble and degraded a Power as Mexico. This reflection

will teach you to bear and forbear much for the sake of accomplishing the great object of your mission.[20]

Significance of the instructions.—Parrott's mission and Slidell's instructions taken together, Reeves declares, prove, in the first place, that the Mexican war was not the result of the annexation of Texas, and, in the second, that Polk reopened diplomatic relations with Mexico for the purpose of purchasing California. New Mexico should be included. Slidell's instructions provide the keynote to Polk's aggressive policy of expansion. This was to be accomplished by peaceful means. The claims against Mexico which had been discussed since Jackson's administration were to provide the foundation for the plan, and the joint resolution under which Texas was annexed furnished the excuse for initiating the subject. The claims could not be paid in cash by Mexico; the boundary of Texas was unsettled. What more natural than to suggest that the claims be paid in land through an adjustment of the boundary of Texas? [21]

Slidell reaches Mexico.—With Buchanan's instructions in his possession, Slidell hastened on board a man-of-war and sailed immediately for Vera Cruz, arriving there on November 30, and at once set out for Mexico City. He was to meet bitter disappointment. Herrera's government had reached the lowest point of efficiency and responsibility. "Every morning it looked for a revolution, and every night for a mutiny. Its one idea was to hold on until the assembling of Congress on the first of January, in the hope that something favorable might then occur; and it found this last resource threatened by its reasonable and pacific policy in regard to the United States." [22] Slidell was made to feel imme-

[20] Buchanan to Slidell, November 10, 1845, in *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 52*, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., 71, and in J. B. Moore (editor), *Works of James Buchanan*, VI. 294-306.

[21] *Ibid.*, 274, 275.

[22] Smith, *The War with Mexico*, I. 95, 96.

diately that his arrival was premature. A little later a franker attitude was taken toward him by Mexican officials. The council of state, which was a permanent body of nobles, expressed the belief that the United States wished to restore friendly relations between the two republics and avoid war. The American government was attempting to introduce a minister into Mexico against the will of the latter. It would be an unparalleled humiliation if Mexico were to receive a regular American minister before she received satisfaction for the outrage and injury inflicted upon her. "In other words, Mexico had promised to receive Slidell, but it did not comport with her interest and dignity to fulfill the agreement." This decision determined his rejection, and on December 20 he received official notification of it and withdrew under an escort to Jalapa, a city on the Vera Cruz road not far from the coast. Here he waited for instructions from his government. During the first days of the new year, January 4, 1846, Paredes (the new executive) swore to defend the integrity of Mexican territory. The Herrera government which had manifested a willingness to be friendly was replaced by the administration of Paredes which rode into office on the back of the opposition.

Failure of his mission.—Meanwhile Slidell's request for further instructions reached Buchanan, and the Secretary of State ordered the American minister to remain in Mexico and to do whatever he could to reopen negotiations. If he thought it wise he was to let Paredes know that his financial difficulties could be relieved by the United States if his government would arrange matters satisfactorily with the republic of the north. Slidell was to make another formal request for a hearing and was to do everything he could honorably to avoid a rupture. On March 1, 1846, Slidell tried once more to secure his reception by the Mexican govern-

ment, but his overtures were rejected, and, completely disgruntled, he left the field in which he had expected to accomplish so much for his government and for himself.

The President hoped to gain a settlement with Mexico through diplomatic negotiations. "It is the earnest desire of the President," Bancroft had begun his confidential communication to Commodore Sloat who commanded the Pacific fleet, "to pursue the policy of peace; and he is anxious that you, and every part of your squadron, should be assiduously careful to avoid any act which could be construed as an act of aggression." And in closing, he had repeated: "You are enjoined to do everything consistent with the national honor" to avoid war. Commodore Connor, who commanded the Gulf fleet, received similar orders. However, Polk prepared to use compulsion if it should become necessary. The disposition of the military and naval forces was therefore in accord with his diplomatic policy. Taylor was ordered to cross the Sabine River into Texas in May, 1845, in order to protect its pending annexation, and that General advanced to Corpus Christi. Connor was ordered, in the event of war, to dislodge the Mexican troops "from any post she may have east of the mouth of the Del Norte; take possession of Tampico; and, *if your force is sufficient,* will take the castle of San Juan d'Ulloa, it being the determination of the President to preserve peace if possible; and if war comes, to recover peace by adopting the most prompt and energetic measures." The Pacific fleet was strengthened by the addition of vessels from the Mediterranean and East India squadrons, and Sloat was ordered to seize San Francisco Bay and any other Pacific ports he could hold in case he heard that hostilities had begun between the United States and Mexico.[23]

---

[23] Bancroft to Sloat, June 24, and Bancroft to Connor, July 11, 1845; *H. R. Ex. Doc. 60,* 30th Cong., 1st Sess., 231-233.

Instructions to Larkin.—Thomas O. Larkin, the most prominent American merchant at Monterey and the United States consul in California, reported the condition of that province to Secretary of State Buchanan in the summer of 1845. The people of California, he said, were apathetic and in some cases even disloyal to Mexico, and there were indications that France and Great Britain had designs on the province.[24] A short time after the receipt of Larkin's report Buchanan forwarded a communication to the United States consul at Monterey. This was dated October 17, 1845. The instructions contained therein outlined a policy which was clear and consistent. The President and his advisers hoped there would be no war with Mexico. The acquisition of California was one of the important objects of the administration, but it was hoped that this could be done through purchase. Furthermore Polk and his officials desired to secure with California the coöperation and good will of its inhabitants. It would be better if the Californians could be induced to declare themselves independent of Mexico.

> In the contest between Mexico and California [Buchanan wrote] we can take no part, unless the former should commence hostilities against the United States; but should California assert and maintain her independence, we shall render her all the kind offices in our power, as a sister Republic. This government has no ambitious aspirations to gratify and no desire to extend our federal system over more territory than we already possess, unless by the free and spontaneous wish of the independent people of adjoining territories. The exercise of compulsion or improper influence to accomplish such a result, would be repugnant both to the policy and principle of this government. But whilst these are the sentiments of the President, he could not view with indifference the transfer of California to Great Britain or any other European Power. . . .

[24] Larkin to Buchanan, June 6, 1845, and July 10, quoted in Reeves, *Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk*, 278.

Whilst the President will make no effort and use no influence to induce California to become one of the free and independent States of this Union, yet if the people should desire to unite their destiny with ours, they would be received as brethren, whenever this can be done without affording Mexico just cause of complaint. Their true policy for the present in regard to this question, is to let events take their course, unless an attempt should be made to transfer them without their consent either to Great Britain or France. This they ought to resist by all the means in their power, as ruinous to their best interests and destructive of their freedom and independence.

In addition to your Consular functions the President has thought proper to appoint you a confidential agent in California; and you may consider the present despatch as your authority for acting in this character. . . . You will take care not to awaken the jealousy of the French and English agents thereby assuming any other than your consular character.[25]

Gillespie's mission.—It would require several months for the instructions to Larkin and Sloat to reach them by way of Cape Horn and the Sandwich Islands. For this reason duplicates of the despatches were sent through Mexico in the care of Lieutenant Archibald H. Gillespie of the United States marine corps, who permitted it to be understood later that he had also been charged with important verbal communications. He delivered Sloat's orders, but committed to memory the instructions to Larkin while on the voyage to Vera Cruz, and destroyed the paper—probably because Sloat had a cipher code while Larkin had none.[26] Gillespie came recommended by the administration. "He is a gentleman," Buchanan had written Larkin, "in whom the President imposes entire confidence. He has seen these instructions and will coöper-

[25] Buchanan to Larkin, October 17, 1845; Moore, *Buchanan,* VI. 275-277.
[26] Rives, *United States and Mexico,* II. 169.

ate as a confidential agent with you, in carrying them into execution." The Lieutenant of Marines, it appears, also brought a message to John C. Frémont, who was supposed to be somewhere on the Pacific coast when Gillespie left Washington.

The Bear Flag.—Gillespie arrived in Monterey April 17, 1846, just six months after the date of the instructions he brought to the American consul. He spent two days with Larkin and then started for San Francisco Bay and Sutter's Fort, arriving at the latter place April 28. Supplying himself with men and horses he moved north in pursuit of Frémont whom he joined on the western shore of Klamath Lake in Oregon on May 9.[27] The combined expeditions then returned down the Sacramento valley and established camp at the Bear and Feather rivers. A report was brought here that Vallejo was sending a hundred and seventy horses south to General José Castro, and rumor declared they were to be used to expel foreigners from the land and to erect a fort on Bear River. On June 9 a dozen men commanded by Ezekiel Merritt started in pursuit and at dawn of the following day surprised the Mexicans in charge and seized the horses. These they took back with them to Frémont's camp, arriving there on the morning of the eleventh. It was then determined to take Sonoma which was the only Mexican settlement of any importance north of San Francisco Bay. On the afternoon of the same day Merritt left camp with twenty-nine men for the purpose of executing this plan. Others joined them along the way and early Sunday morning, June 14, they roused the little village and made prisoners of Mariano Vallejo, his brother Sal-

[27] The mission of Gillespie has been frequently discussed. *See* Bancroft, *California,* V. 26-29, 85-89; Royce, *California,* 129-150; Richman, *California,* 307-312, and notes; Rives, *United States and Mexico,* II. Chapter XXXIV; and Frémont's latest version printed in his *Memoirs,* 488-490, and in "The Conquest of California," published in the *Century Magazine* for April, 1891, XLI. 917-928.

vador, his brother-in-law, Jacob B. Leese, and his secretary, Victor Prudon. The prisoners were sent to Frémont who ordered them confined in Sutter's Fort, though disclaiming any part in the Sonoma affair. Meanwhile the leaders of the revolutionary movement debated, consumed quantities of *aguardients,* and agreed to declare California an independent republic. A flag was constructed by William L. Todd, in the upper left-hand corner of which was drawn a five-pointed red star fifteen inches in diameter, and facing the star was a bear. Below the star and the bear was the emblem "California Republic." William B. Ide who had succeeded to the command drew up a proclamation declaring the government formed to be "a just, liberal, and honorable" one which should secure to its citizens "life and property; detect and punish crime and injustice; encourage virtues, industry and literature; foster agriculture and manufactures, and guarantee freedom to commerce." [28]

Sloat appears.—The appearance of Commodore Sloat on July 7, 1846, put an end to all schemes for establishing a California republic. He had reached Monterey on the second, but Larkin had persuaded him to delay action for five days. At the end of the period he landed two hundred and fifty men, raised the American flag over the custom house, fired a salute, and posted a proclamation declaring California annexed to the United States. On July 9 the flag was raised at San Francisco and Sonoma, and two days later at Sutter's Fort. On the twenty-third Sloat placed Stockton in command, and six days later sailed for home. There was some desultory fighting in California during the next few months, but all opposition was at last stamped out and by the treaty of Cahuenga on January 13, 1847, the conquest was complete.

[28] The proclamation is quoted in Bancroft, *California,* V. 152, note. For an account of the Bear Flag revolt *see ibid.,* 145-190, and reference given therein.

It is necessary now to turn back to the activities of the administration in Washington in order to trace the movement of events leading to the declaration of war against Mexico, the conquest of other Mexican territory, and the conclusion of peace.

Wilmot proviso and anti-slavery sentiment.—We have said that Polk had a sincere desire to settle the Mexican problems peaceably. This is shown by an examination of the despatches sent to diplomatic, military, and naval officials during the period preceding the outbreak of the war. However, all efforts at peace failed and in May, 1846, war began between the two countries. On August 4 following, the President asked Congress for two million dollars to be used for carrying on negotiations. On Saturday morning, August 8, a bill was introduced appropriating two million dollars "for the purpose of defraying any extraordinary expenses which may be incurred in the intercourse between the United States and foreign nations." Through Jacob Brinkerhoff of Ohio, David Wilmot of Pennsylvania was induced to offer an amendment to the bill which read as follows:[29]

> Provided, that, as an express and fundamental condition of the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico by the United States, by virtue of any treaty which may be negotiated between them, and to the use by the Executive of the moneys herein appropriated, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory, except for crime, whereof the party shall first be duly convicted.

The proviso was discussed freely, and the bill with this attached finally passed the House by a vote of eighty-five to seventy-nine. It was taken to the Senate on Monday morning, the last day of the session. Congress was to adjourn at noon for the convenience of cer-

[29] Adams, *Memoirs*, XII. 270.

tain members who took the train for Baltimore.[30] The bill was brought up and a motion made to strike out the Wilmot proviso. This was opposed in a speech by Davis of Massachusetts which was prolonged until the hour of adjournment. The next session began in December and another effort was made to put through the proviso, but it could not be done. The proviso was significant, among other things, as the sequel to the "bargain of 1844," and it afforded anti-slavery men in all parties an opportunity to express their opposition to annexing any more slave territory. James Russell Lowell expressed the sentiment of the latter group in the fierce satire of his *Bigelow Papers:*

> They may talk o' Freedom's airy
> Tell they're pupple in the face,—
> It's a grand gret cemetary
> Fer the barthrights of our race;
> They jest want this Californy
> So's to lug new slave-states in
> To abuse ye, an' to scorn ye,
> An' to plunder ye like sin.

Success of United States troops.—While Congress was in the midst of sectional discussion and Polk was expressing in his *Diary* [31] his views on the subject of the Wilmot proviso, the American troops were carrying out the President's plan of winning a peace as soon as possible. Taylor won easily over the Mexicans in the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, and then crossed the Rio Grande and defeated them again at Monterey. Santa Anna had been permitted to pass through the lines by the President's order, but took the side of the patriot and organized a new army with which he made a vain attack upon Taylor at Buena Vista in February, 1847. Meanwhile Kearny had led

[30] Persinger, "The 'Bargain of 1844' as the Origin of the Wilmot Proviso," in American Historical Association, *Annual Report,* 1911, I. 189-195.

[31] II. 75, 76.

his troops to Santa Fé, which was taken without firing a gun, and a civil government was established. He then made his way to California where he arrived in time to take a small part in completing the conquest of that territory. Scott landed at Vera Cruz in March, 1847, and without difficulty fought his way steadily across the mountains and into the valley of Mexico.

Proposals to annex all of Mexico.—Late in October news of the decisive victory of American arms reached Washington and gave rise to an active agitation to incorporate into the Union the whole of Mexico.[32] Those who were opposed to the administration asserted that this was the intention of the President, and the fact that Robert J. Walker, his Secretary of the Treasury, advocated such a policy increased their suspicion. During the months of December, 1847, and the early weeks

[32] For a discussion of this subject *see* E. G. Bourne, "The Absorption of Mexico," in *Essays in Historical Criticism,* 227-242. There was considerable discussion in the public press of the day apparently demanding occupation of the country. In Niles' *Weekly Register,* LXXIII. 113, the Baltimore *American* comments on the subject and quotes from the New York *Sun,* which in turn had quoted the Washington *Union:* "Though late in the season, we are happy to welcome the government organ to a share in the admiration of a beautiful country, which we expressed five months ago. . . . God has not made a more magnificent land than Mexcio. It is a paradise blessed with every variety of climate, every capacity of soil, and almost every species of fruit and flower on the face of the earth." And "if you look beyond her beauty to her wealth, behold the cotton, wheat, maize, indigo, and cochineal fields, a source of wealth inexhaustible. Look, too, at her forests of mahogany, rose, zebra and satin woods—at her dye woods richer than the treasures of India. Or if the *Union* will penetrate still further, let it look down into those mines of Potosi, Zacatecas, and Durango. Look at the gold and silver glittering there in masses that want for the pick of the Saxon. . . . Mexico is truly a magnificent country, over and under the soil bursting with everything the heart can desire. We have seen this for years, and the *Union* now sees it. Four years ago, too, we saw and urged the advantages of a ship canal or railway across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, and five months ago we saw and urged the necessity of occupying that beautiful country, Mexico.

"The *Union* now sees and urges all this. Better late than never, we welcome the *Union* and the whole press of the Union to share our admiration. Let them repeat it until it becomes a common theme, and we shall see the Aztec and American eagle clasping wings, and our Yankee boys swapping knicknacks with the Americanized Rancheros for gold."

of January, 1848, a number of resolutions were introduced into Congress in favor of or opposed to the policy of all of Mexico. Of the latter a number were introduced by southern Whigs and gave illustration to the point that the interests of slavery and expansion were not identical. Calhoun of South Carolina was opposed to it, while Dickinson of New York, a Democrat of the Hunker type, and Hannegan of Indiana were among its strongest supporters. On December 15, Calhoun had offered a resolution, "that to conquer Mexico or hold it either as a province or to incorporate it in the Union would be inconsistent with the avowed object for which the war has been prosecuted; a departure from the settled policy of the government; in conflict with its character and genius and in the end subversive of our free and popular institutions." [33]

In discussing them a few days later Cass made the assertion that "no man in this nation" was "in favor of the extinction of the Nationality of Mexico." "Why, you can hardly read a newspaper," Calhoun exclaimed, "without finding it filled with speculation upon this subject. The proceedings which took place in Ohio at a dinner given to one of the volunteer officers of the army returned from Mexico show conclusively that the impression entertained by the persons present was, that our troops would never leave Mexico until they had conquered the whole country. This was the sentiment advanced by the officer and it was applauded by the assembly, and endorsed by the official paper of that state." In his speech delivered January 4, 1848, he made his statement stronger. At that time, he said, there was "a party scattered all over every portion of the country in favor of conquering the whole of Mexico. To prove that such was the case, it is only necessary to refer to the proceedings of numerous large pub-

[33] Quoted in Bourne, *Essays in Historical Criticism*, 234. *Cong. Globe*, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., 26.

lic meetings, to declarations repeatedly made in the public journals, and to the opinions expressed by the officers of the army and individuals of standing and influence, to say nothing of declarations made here and in the other House of Congress." [34]

Reasons for failure of proposals.—What then prevented the annexation of all Mexico in 1847 to 1848? Bourne, in concluding his essay on the subject, gives four reasons why it failed: (1) The growing realization that territorial expansion and the extension of slavery were involved so inextricably with each other that every accession of territory would precipitate a slavery crisis powerfully counteracted the natural inclinations of people toward expansion which inclinations are so clearly revealed to-day. (2) The fact that the members of Congress who met in December, 1847, had been elected over a year earlier, before the great military victories of 1847 had begun to undermine the first revulsion from a war of conquest, gave the control of the House to the Whigs, who as a party were committed against conquest and annexation. (3) There was the opposition of President Polk, who controlled the policy of the government. (4) There was not time for the movement to gain sufficient headway to overcome these obstacles.

While Polk had opposed annexing the whole of Mexico, he had expressed a desire at an earlier period to take over more territory than was acquired. On June 30, 1846, near the end of an animated discussion between Buchanan and Walker at a cabinet meeting, Polk expressed himself as follows on the subject:

As to the boundary which we should establish by a Treaty of Peace, I remarked that I preferred the twenty-

[34] Quoted by Von Holst, III. 343. The speech may be found in Calhoun's *Works*, IV. 396-424. *See* Niles' *Weekly Register*, LXXIII. 334. Bourne, 235-237, gives a number of instances bearing out Calhoun's assertion. *See also* Smith, *War with Mexico*, II. 243-246.

sixth degree to any boundary North of it, but that if it was found that that boundary could not be obtained I was willing to take thirty-two degrees, but that in any event we must obtain Upper California and New Mexico in any Treaty of Peace we would make.[35]

Trist's appointment and instructions.—Shortly after Scott had taken command of the troops in a move against Mexico City from Vera Cruz the President had appointed a special agent to accompany the army and negotiate a peace at the earliest opportunity. Nicholas Philip Trist, a Virginian, and chief clerk of the State Department, was selected for the mission. He was a man with but little training in diplomatic experiences and one who lacked the essential characteristics of patience, tact, and judgment. He received from the Secretary of State, Buchanan, an official letter, which considerably restricted his discretionary powers, and the project of a treaty together with a statement that under no circumstances should peace be concluded without the cession to the United States of New Mexico and California and the recognition of the Rio Grande as the southwestern boundary. What Slidell had been authorized to do before the outbreak of the war now became an ultimatum, thanks to the success of the army. According to his instructions Trist was authorized to pay in addition to the claims not more than twenty millions for the cession of New Mexico and Upper California, and an additional amount not to exceed five millions for Lower California. For the right of transit and passage across Tehuantepec he might pay an additional five millions. The project accompanying Trist's instructions contained eleven articles covering the points just mentioned. As soon as the treaty was ratified by Mexico, according to the third article, information should be given the military and

[35] Polk, *Diary*, I. 496, 497.

naval commanders of both sides and hostilities should be suspended immediately. This was the President's idea of "conquering a peace." [36]

Scott and Trist.—Trist reached Vera Cruz on May 6, 1847. Immediately there began a bitter correspondence between him and General Scott which came near wrecking the cause in which both were interested. Knowledge of the disagreement reached the President, and under date of June 12, 1847, he wrote in his diary:

> It appears that General Scott has taken offence because Mr. Trist was sent to his Head Quarters as a commissioner invested with Diplomatic Powers and full authority to conclude a Treaty of peace. He desired to be invested with this power himself. . . . It is clear from this despatch, as well as one of previous date enclosing a letter from Gen'l Scott to Mr. Trist, that he would not coöperate with Mr. Trist in accomplishing the object of his mission, the conclusion of an honorable peace.[37]

Trist recalled.—It was not long, however, before Polk heard more of the dispute through other channels and determined to recall Trist.

> Mr. Trist is recalled because his remaining longer with the army could not, probably, accomplish the objects of his mission, and because his remaining longer might, and probably would, impress the Mexican government with the belief that the United States were so anxious for peace that they would ultimately conclude one upon the Mexican terms.

Mexican commissioners and their instructions.—Trist received and acknowledged his recall, and prepared to return to the United States, but was finally

[36] Buchanan's letter of instructions and the project in *S. Ex. Doc. No. 52*, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., 81-89.

[37] Polk's *Diary*, III. 57. The correspondence between Trist and Scott may be found in *S. Ex. Doc., No. 52*, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., 154 ff.

persuaded by Scott [38] and the Mexican commissioners to remain and conclude a treaty. The Mexican commissioners with whom he was to carry on negotiations were instructed to endeavor first to procure the immediate retirement of the American army to points north of the Rio Grande and Gila rivers. Second, they were to try to induce the United States to submit its pretensions with respect to Mexico to a congress of representatives from all American nations, and agree to abide by the decision of such a congress. Or, as a substitute for this plan, an effort might be made to have the subject submitted to friendly powers for arbitration. But these directions were included in order to pay tribute to appearances. More serious instructions followed. The commissioners were to ask that the boundary be established along the Rio Grande from its mouth to a point two leagues north of El Paso, thence to the source of the Gila River, down that stream to the Colorado, and to the Pacific along a parallel north of San Diego. Some strong, friendly power was to guarantee the boundaries and the territory ceded was to be organized into states or territories immediately. Additional demands would require the protection of all property held for religious purposes, would recognize the validity of land grants made by Mexico, would have the United States assume all claims of American citizens against the southern republic, and would expect the United States to pledge itself to annex no more Mexican territory. As soon as the treaty was signed Amer-

[38] Scott and Trist had become friendly by this time and Polk was convinced that the latter had been made the tool of the former. "Though he had in a previous despatch acknowledged the receipt of his letter of recall from the Secretary of State, he announces that he had reopened negotiations with the Mexican authorities and had resolved to conclude a treaty with them. His despatch is arrogant, impudent, and very insulting to his government, and even personally offensive to the President. He admits he is acting without authority and in violation of the positive order recalling him. It is manifest to me that he has become the tool of Gen'l Scott and his menial instrument, and that the paper was written at Scott's instance and dictation." Polk, *Diary*, III. 300, 301.

ican troops were to be withdrawn, captured artillery and munitions of war were to be restored, and the custom-houses were to be at once returned to the Mexican authorities.

These were the principal matters included in the general instructions. In separate documents the commissioners were required to endeavor to get the line of the Nueces, instead of the Rio Grande. This point was to be yielded only in case the treaty would fail by requiring it. The amount to be required from the United States for the cession of territory was to be not less than thirty million.[39]

Treaty concluded.—The official conference between Trist and the Mexican commissioners began in the City of Mexico on January 2, 1848. The American representative explained that the line of the Rio Grande and the inclusion of San Diego in the California territory ceded to the United States constituted a *sine qua non*. He further informed the commissioners that this government would not pay more than fifteen million dollars for the territory included in the cession Mexico would be expected to make. There was discussion and delay which annoyed Trist, and again it looked as if a satisfactory settlement could not be made. Pressure was exerted upon the Mexican President, Pena y Pena, by the commissioners and the British *chargé d'affaires*, which resulted in instructions going finally to the commissioners authorizing them "to sign the treaty with the least possible burdens upon the country, in view of the melancholy circumstances in which it is situated." [40] And at Guadalupe Hidalgo, the seat of the famous shrine of the virgin of Guadalupe, the treaty was signed according to the terms insisted upon by Trist.

---

[39] Rives, *U. S. and Mexico*, II. 603.

[40] Quoted in *ibid.*, 612. *See* Chapter XLIX for a full account of the treaty negotiations; Reeves, *Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk;* and Smith's *War with Mexico*, II. Chapters XXVII, XXXII.

Gila River boundary in the project.—In the fourth article of the project which Trist carried with him to Mexico the boundary which he was instructed to obtain was to follow the middle of the channel of the Rio Grande to the southern line of New Mexico, "thence westwardly along the southern boundary of New Mexico to the southwestern corner of the same; thence northward along the western line of New Mexico, until it intersects the first branch of the river Gila; or if it should not intersect any branch of that river, then to the point on the said line nearest to such branch; and thence in a direct line to the same, and down the middle of said branch and of said river, until it empties into the Rio Colorado, and the middle of the Gulf of California, to the Pacific Ocean." [41]

Gila River as route for railroad.—The boundary outlined in article five of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo provided that the Gila River line as indicated in the project should be definitely established as the boundary line between the two republics in that section.[42] However, Buchanan had, as early as July, 1847, begun to suspect that such a line was not the best one to settle upon. Accordingly he wrote to Trist suggesting an "important modification" of this line:

> and this is, to run it along the thirty-second parallel of north latitude from the Rio Grande to the middle of the Gulf of California . . . or, if this cannot be obtained, to run it due west from the southwest angle of New Mexico to the middle of the gulf. Either of these lines would include within our limits the whole course of the Gila. From information derived from Major Emory, the valley of that river presents a favorable route for a railroad to the Pacific; but this would sometimes pass on one side and

[41] *S. Ex. Doc. No. 52,* 30th Cong., 1st Sess., 86.

[42] For the treaty concluded by Trist *see ibid.,* 38-64. The line from the mouth of the Gila to the Pacific was of course made direct in the final treaty instead of including Lower California as provided in the project.

sometimes on the other of the bed of the stream. For this reason it is deemed important that the whole valley of that river should be included within the boundary of the United States. [43]

Six days later the Secretary of State again addressed Trist on the subject:

The more I reflect upon the subject, the better am I convinced of the importance of running the boundary line between the Rio Grande and the Gulf of California, along the thirty-second parallel of north latitude. We cannot learn that the boundaries of New Mexico have ever been authoritatively and specifically determined; and difficulties might hereafter arise between the two governments in ascertaining where the southwestern angle of New Mexico is situated. A conversation with Major Emory since the date of my last despatch, has convinced me still more of the importance of this modification.[44]

Commissioners and their difficulties.—Trist did not secure the modification suggested, however, and that part of the boundary extending along the Gila remained as outlined in Buchanan's project of 1847, and as embodied in article five of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidlago. This same article of the treaty of 1848 provided that the United States and Mexico should each appoint a commissioner and a surveyor, who should meet at San Diego within a year of the date of the exchange of the ratification of the treaty for the purpose of running the boundary from the Pacific to the mouth of the Rio Grande. The joint commission from the two countries met at San Diego on July 6, 1849, a few days after the time stipulated by the treaty. From the beginning the work was hampered by partisan politics in the United States and by bickerings among the commissioners themselves.[45] There was considerable delay and diffi-

[43] Buchanan to Trist, July 13, 1847, in *ibid.*, 90.
[44] Buchanan to Trist, July 19, 1847, in *ibid.*, 91.
[45] For information on this part of my subject I am under obligation to

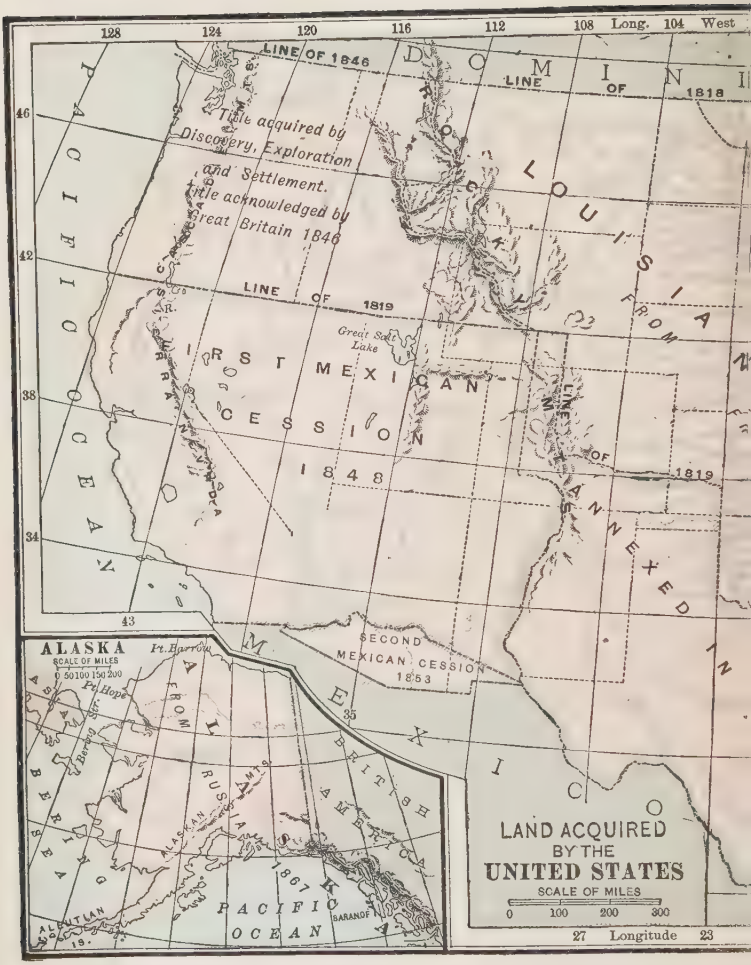
culty in determining the initial point on the Rio Grande, and not until December 25, 1850, could the commissioners agree upon a compromise. This provided that the southern boundary of New Mexico should extend three degrees west of the Rio Grande along the parallel of thirty-two degrees and twenty-two minutes. Congress refused to accept the compromise, however, and legislated the commission out of existence.

Route for railroad endangered.—In fact the subject was complicated by two circumstances. In the first place it was believed that the compromise settled upon by the commissioners would sacrifice the only practicable southern route for a Pacific railway. In the second, the inhabitants and officials living in the disputed territory were in a dangerous mood. Conditions were not improved by raids of filibusters from 1848 to 1853. These the United States would not or could not restrain.

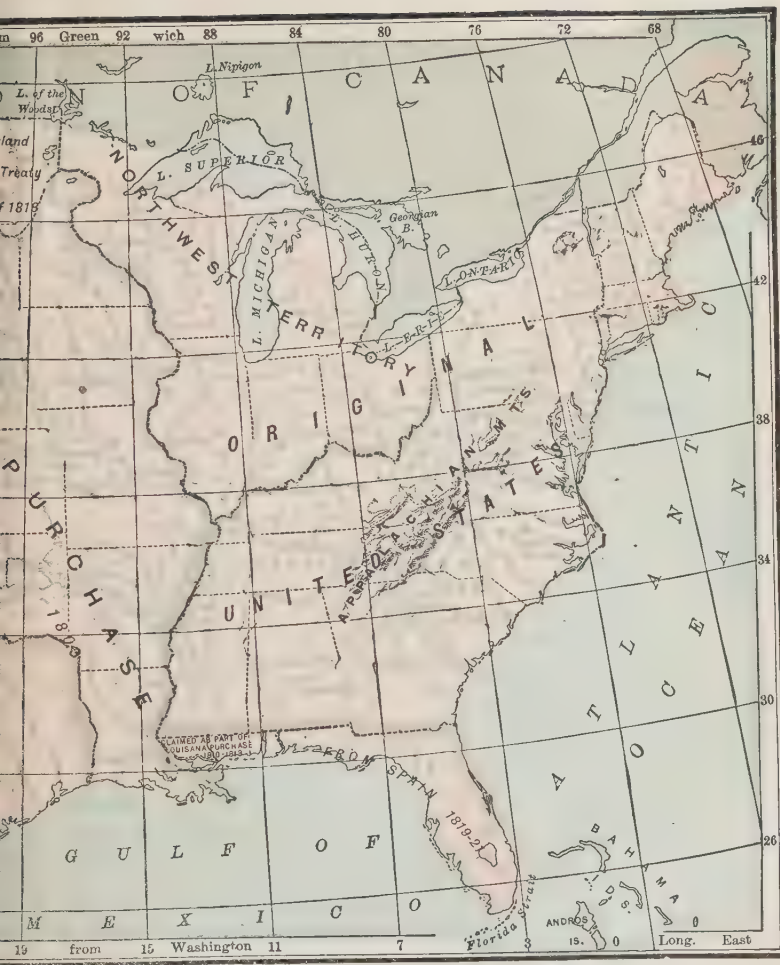
Peaceable settlement determined upon.—However, the situation had its hopeful aspects. The administrative officials in Mexico fully understood the seriousness of involving their country in another war with the United States, and they were in great need of money. Then, too, the strenuous opposition in the United States which the recent war had produced there was fresh in the memory of political leaders and would cause them to shrink from involving their country in another struggle with Mexico, lest they should endanger the solidarity of their party and possibly imperil the Union itself. These conditions in the two countries would influence the leaders to establish a peaceful settlement if it could be accomplished. In fact Santa Anna had already determined to settle the difficulties peaceably if he could, and had given a commission to negotiate the treaty to J. N. Almonte on July 26.

James Gadsden and his instructions.—The United

Dr. James Fred Rippy, whose valuable thesis on *The Relation of the United States and Mexico, 1848-1860,* is still in manuscript form.



LAND ACQUIRED
BY THE
UNITED STATES
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300
Long. 104 West
Longitude
LINE OF 1846
LINE OF 1818
LINE OF 1819
Title acquired by Discovery, Exploration and Settlement. Title acknowledged by Great Britain 1846
PACIFIC OCEAN
LOUISIANA
FIRST MEXICAN CESSION 1848
Great Salt Lake
SECOND MEXICAN CESSION 1853
MEXICO
ALASKA
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200
Pt. Barrow
Pt. Hope
Bering Str.
ASIA
BERING SEA
ALASKA
FROM RUSSIA
1867
BRITISH AMERICA
ALASKAN MTS.
ALEUTIAN IS.
PACIFIC OCEAN
BARANOF



96 Green 92 wich 88 84 80 76 72 68
L. Nipigon
L. of the Woods
N O F C A N A D A
L. SUPERIOR
NORTHWEST TERRITORY
L. MICHIGAN
L. HURON
Georgian B.
L. ONTARIO
L. ERIE
ORIGINAL
UNITED STATES
APPALACHIAN MTS.
PURCHASE
1803
CLAIMED AS PART OF LOUISIANA PURCHASE 1810-1813
FROM SPAIN 1819-21
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
BAHAMA I. D. S.
ANDROS IS.
Florida Strait
46
42
38
34
30
26
19 from 15 Washington 11 7 3 0 Long. East

States selected as its agent to adjust the outstanding difficulties a southerner by the name of James Gadsden. His letter of appointment was dated May 24, 1853, and he received other communications dated July 1, 15, and 16. The instructions given must have been complete and detailed.[46] He was directed to make no effort at that time to renew negotiations regarding the isthmus of Tehuantepec, and probably he was authorized to pay fifteen or twenty millions of dollars for Lower California, Sonora, and a portion of Chihuahua together with a release from further responsibility for the Indians of the Southwest.

Treaty is drawn up.—With his instructions in hand Gadsden arrived at his destination in August and immediately entered upon his duties. The two things in which he was probably most interested were the acquisition of territory and a route for a southern Pacific railway, but the Mexican Minister of Relations was persistent in his demands for a settlement of Indian difficulties. Gadsden's efforts to carry out his purpose were hampered still further by reports to the effect that the United States was concentrating troops on the southwestern frontier and by the threatened invasion of filibusters from California. The latter report particularly caused much uneasiness in Mexico. Gadsden promised to place this matter before his government at once and assured the Mexican officials that the President would take action to stop such raids. A correspondence then began in regard to a settlement of the outstanding questions. By the middle of December, after numerous conferences, a project was drawn up by the American minister and a completed draft was agreed to by the last day of the year. With this in his possession Gadsden reached Washington during the early weeks of 1854.

[46] Dr. Rippy says the contents of these letters are not fully known, but they probably related primarily to the questions of a new boundary and to indemnities for Indian depredations. *Ibid.*, Chapter VII.

Amended and accepted by Senate.—The treaty was laid before the Senate in February by President Pierce with a request that it be ratified, but it met with strong opposition from some of the members of that body. In fact amendments were made to it by the Senate, and these were accepted by the government of Mexico. However, it was the last of June, 1854, before Congress passed legislation to carry the provisions into effect, and on the same day ratifications were exchanged. As accepted by the two countries the treaty fixed the boundary line as it now exists. The United States gained the Mesilla valley or an addition of about 45,535 square miles of territory for which it paid ten millions of dollars. The agreement also abrogated article eleven of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which provided that the United States should protect Mexico from the incursions of Indians.

The Gadsden purchase was the last addition of territory acquired adjacent to the United States. It included the route along the Gila River which had been in great demand in order to enable the projected Southern Pacific railroad to build its roadbed entirely upon American soil. At first it was incorporated with the Territory of New Mexico, but was later divided between that territory and Arizona.

Bibliographical Notes

Mexican Diplomacy through 1853: In addition to the general histories of the period the following works are valuable: J. F. H. Claiborne, *Life and Correspondence of John A Quitman,* 2 vols., New York, 1860; Robert Glass Cleland, "The Early Sentiment for the Annexation of California: an Account of the Growth of American Interest in California from 1835 to 1846," in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* XVIII, Nos. 1, 2, and 3; Carl Russel Fish, *American Diplomacy,* New York, 1919; J. W. Foster, *A Century of American Diplomacy, 1776-1876,* Boston, 1900; Albert Bushnell Hart, *The Foundations of American Foreign Policy,* New York, 1910; William Fletcher Johnson, *America's Foreign Rela-*

tions, 2 vols., New York, 1916; Julius Klein, *The Making of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, on February 2, 1848,* Berkeley, California, 1905 (in the University Chronicle, Vol. VII, No. 4); Clayton Charles Kohl, *Claims as a Cause of the Mexican War,* New York, 1914 (New York University Series of Graduate School Studies, No. 2); John Bassett Moore, *The Principles of American Diplomacy,* New York; J. S. Reeves, *American Diplomacy under Tyler and Polk,* Baltimore, 1907; Justin Harvey Smith, *The War with Mexico,* 2 vols., New York, 1919; *Ibid., Polk and California* (extracts from Mass. Historical Society *Publications,* Dec., 1916-Jan., 1917, 83-91); *Ibid., Poinsett's Career in Mexico* (in American Antiquarian Society for April, 1914); Freeman Snow, *Treaties and Topics in American Diplomacy,* Boston, 1894 (gives the treaties); Lyon G. Tyler, *The Letters and Times of the Tylers,* 3 vols., Richmond, 1884-1896.

INDEX

Adams negotiates territory question with Spain, 104-109
Advertising, a factor in developing the West, 270
Alaman report, on U. S.-Mexican relations (1830), 331-333
— recent comments on, 333, 334
American Fur Company, and Presbyterian missionaries in Oregon, 292
— at Saint Louis, 129-130
— expansion of, and competition with rivals, 127-136
— formed by John Jacob Astor, 120
American population in Louisiana, increase of, 87
American settlements in Texas, early, 150
American, settlers of Upper Louisiana, 75
Anahuac, Texans expel Mexican troops from (1835), 190, 191
Arkansas, becomes a territory (1819), 95, 96
— Missouri, and Kansas explored by Shaw, 58
— post, and La Harpe, 5
— River, road to Fort Osage from, 140-141
— Territory of, 86
— — removal of Indians, from, 89, 90
Astor, John Jacob, and American Fur Company, 120
— and development of Northwest fur trade, 215
— and his early interest in Trans-Mississippi West, 119-120
— and Pacific Fur Company, 120-121, 215
— great fur dealer, 119
— strengthens American claims to Oregon country, 218
Astoria, first American Pacific Colony, 215
— marks termination of Pacific Fur expedition, 123-124
— restored to United States, 219, 220, 221
— sold to Northwest Company 218, 219
Atkinson, Colonel, and his Northwest Expedition, 48, 49
— and Long opposed by Congress, 50, 51
— expedition of, to effect Indian treaties, 230, 231
Austin, Moses, and his importance in early Texan history, 159-162
— opposes acquisition of Texas, 334, 335
— Stephen F., and anti-Mexican developments, 192-197
— — and his Texas colony, 162-172
— — and Texas Convention of 1833, 189, 190
— Texas colony, government of, 168-169
Ayish Bayou, Early Texas settlement, 150
Ayuntamiento, the, in Texas colony, functions of, 171-172

Bale, Peace of, and the French in relation to Louisiana, 11

"Bargain of 1844" in the Oregon controversy, 377-381
— Southern Democrats win, 378-381
Bay St. Louis, explored by Bienville, 2
Bean, Ellis, leaves a Memoir of Nolan's expedition of 1800, 153
Bear Flag, the, in California, 491
Becknell, William, historic Southwest, expedition of, 138, 139
— initiates trade in the Southwest, 138, 139
Berger, fur trader, assists McKenzie, 133-134
Berthier, General, and Napoleon's Louisianan project, 12, 13, 14
Bienville, French explorer of the Mississippi, 2
Big Horn Range discovered by Verendrye, 5
Biloxi, Back Bay of, site of early French fort, 2
Blackfeet country entered by McKenzie, fur trader, 132-135
Black Hawk Purchase (1832) important in Iowa history, 249, 250
Bonneville, Captain, explorations of, 232
Boone, Daniel, 11
Boonslick country, the, 87
Boston merchants arouse Spanish wrath, 423
Boundaries, according to Napoleon, 102
— attempts to fix (1803-21), 101
Bradbury and Breckenridge expeditions, 56, 57
Breckenridge and Bradbury expeditions, 56, 57
Bridger, Fort, construction of, marks end of fur-trade era, 114
Brindamur, famous outlaw, 9
British Association jealous of American Northwest explorations, 214
British interest in Oregon, Gallatin's Estimate of, 369-371
British, the, attempt to settle the Oregon issue, 381-390
Buchanan appoints and instructs Slidell, minister to Mexico, 482, 483, 484
— Mexico, and Texas, 361-367
— Oregon, and the 49th parallel, 385, 386
— writes Mexico on Texas Annexation, 361, 362
Butler, Colonel Anthony, and his interest in Texas, 327
— receives instructions from President Jackson, 330
— succeeds Poinsett as U. S. Representative to Mexico, 330
— U. S. Minister to Mexico, unscrupulous dealings of, 468-470

Cadron country explored by Nuttall, 61
Calhoun, Secretary of War, and his plans to fortify Mississippi and Missouri rivers, 47-51
— Tyler, and the Oregon issue, 381
California, acquired from Mexico (1848, 1853), 468
— admitted into the Union, 465, 466
— advertised by Robidoux, 439
— and Dr. William S. Parrott, secret agent of Polk, 478-482
— and Isaac Graham, 434, 435, 436

— and Jedediah S. Smith, 428-432
— and Mexico—Early U. S. negotiations, 467-475
— and New England, beginning of commerce between, 424
— and New Mexico, overland trade between, 145-147
— and Spain, 426, 427, 428
— annexed to the United States (1847), 492
— before 1841, no overland homeseekers in, 437, 438
— beginning of U. S. interest in, 423, 424
— Company formed for immigration to, 440, 441
— — makes (northern) journey to (1841), 441, 447
— — second, travels southern route (1841), 447, 448
— conditions alarm Mexico, 433
— expedition of I. R. Walker to, 232
— first American settlers in, 426, 427
— first official attempt to acquire, 469, 470
— foreign influences in: the waltz, 427, 428
— Frémont's mission to, 242, 243
— future of, prophesied (1838) by Alexander Forbes, 448
— gold discovery, 456, 464
— — relieves Mormons, 410, 411
— — U. S. Government official reports, 457-459
— gold in, affects Oregon, 321-323
— gold rush, by land, 460-464
— — terrible sufferings involved, 463-464
— Great Britain, and France, 484
— hides and tallow trading, 425, 426
— homeseekers, conditions that brought, 438, 439
— immigration and the panic of 1837, 438, 439
— immigration of 1844 and 1845, 450, 451
— immigration of 1846, 450, 451
— immigration sentiment waxes and wanes, 438-440
— interest in, maintained, 471
— 1842-1846, interest not in, 448
— Johann August Sutter in, 436-437
— Mexico conditions, 433-436
— negotiations, Duff Green as special agent in, 477, 478
— New Helvetia established in, 436-437
— 1843, overland immigration to, 449, 450
— overthrow of Spanish régime in, 454, 455
— political conditions, dissatisfaction with, 464
— President Polk plans to acquire, 478
— prophesied as "granary of the Pacific," 472
— proposed Tripartite Agreement: United States, Great Britain, Mexico, 475, 476
— Republic project fails, 491, 492
— résumé of the development of, 423
— revolution of 1836, causes of the, 433, 434
— Russians extend settlements to, 200
— settlements, population and location of, 455, 456
— state government organized, 464, 465
— the Bear Flag of, 491
— the Patties in, 432
— the steamer, voyage of (1849), 459, 460

— tragic history of the Donner party's journey to, 451-454
— trail, making a, 444
— Treaty of Guadaloupe Hidalgo (1848), 464
— U. S. attempts to acquire, during Jackson's administration, 470, 471
— Webster's and Waddy Thompson's correspondence about, 472, 473, 474
— Young, Wolfskill, Walker, and others in, 432, 433
Canning, George, on Early English Oregon diplomacy, 368, 369
Caravan trade, importance of, 144-147
Carson, Kit, guides Frémont's Western expedition, 234
Cavelier, Robert, or Sieur de la Salle, as explorer of the Mississippi, 1
Cession of Louisiana by France to Spain, 7
Champoeg Convention of 1843 (Oregon), 315-317
Chariton, rapid growth of, 91
Chiles and California immigration (1843), 449, 450
Chinese in Northwest, proposal to introduce, 276
Christian Advocate, the, and the Oregon missionary movement, 286
Cimarron Desert, the, dangers of travel across, 141, 142
Cincinnati Convention (1843) relative to Oregon, 375-376
Claiborne, first governor of the new Louisiana, 84
Clark and Lewis Expedition, 34-40
Clark, Fort, established, 38
Clark, George Rogers, 10
Colonization Act of Coahuila and Texas (1825), 173-174
Colonization law of April 28, 1832 (Texas), 184
Colonization law of 1824, the National, 172-173
Colonization Society of Oregon, 282-284
Colorado, and the Stephen H. Long expedition to the Rockies, 52, 53
— Frémont explores in, 237
Columbia Fur Company absorbed by American Company, 130, 131
Columbia River boundary and England, 382, 383
— named after Robert Gray's vessel, 213
— steam navigation on, 294
— visited by Vancouver, 213
Columbia, Territory of, 324
Commerce, Iowa, the site of Mormon settlement, 397
Commercial trader compared to fur trader, 137
Competition among fur companies, 127-136
Congressional discussion of Oregon, 277-280
Congressional report on Pacific Northwest, extremely important, 275, 276, 277
Constitutional Election in Anglo-American Texas, the first, 170, 171
Convention of 1818, between England and the United States, concerning Louisiana territory, 111, 112
— deals with Anglo-American Northwest claims, 218, 219
— renewal of, 224, 225
Convention of 1832 (Texas), 187, 188
Convention of 1833 (Texas), 188-190
Cook, Captain James, voyages to the Pacific, 204, 205
Cooper County, 91

Cotton in Louisiana, 7
Council Bluffs, naming of, 38
— the termination of Major Long's scientific expedition, 50

Dana increases California interest by his "Two Years before the Mast," 471
Deception Bay, 205
Democrats, northern and southern, and Oregon controversy, 376-381
Deseret, State of, see State of Deseret
Des Moines County, Iowa, organized, 250
De Witt grant, the, (Texas), 174, 175
d'Iberville, Sieur, French explorer of the Mississippi, 2
— receives message left by La Salle's party, 2
Disappointment, Cape, 205
Donner party's migration to California (1846), tragedy of the, 451-454
Douglas, Stephen A., on Texas annexation, 359, 360
— resolution of, on Texas annexation, 359, 360
Douglas Texas resolution submitted to Texas government, 360
Drake, Sir Francis, voyages to the Pacific, 204
Dubuque County, Iowa, organized, 250
Dubuque's Grant (Iowa), 247, 248
Dubuque, Julien, prominent in Iowa history, 247, 248, 249
Dutch immigration to the West, 258, 259, 260, 261
Dutch, the, found a town (Pella) in Iowa, 259

East, Far, beginnings of American trade with the, 210, 211
Edwards, Hayden, and the Fredonian uprising (Texas), 180, 181, 182
Emigrant trains, description of, 178, 179
Empresario in early Texas, the, 173, 174, 176, 177
England and Columbia River boundary, 382, 383
— and Louisiana, Treaty of Paris, 7
— and Mexico, breach between, and the California issue, 477
— interprets Nootka Sound treaty, 206
— Oregon, and the 49th parallel, 385, 386
— Russia, United States, and Monroe Doctrine, 202, 203
— stirred by Polk on Oregon issue, 383-385
English discovered by early French Mississippi explorers, 3
English voyages, early, in the Northwest, 204-214
Escort, government, for Santa Fe caravan, 142, 143, 144
European plants, important in Louisiana agriculture, 6
Expansion policy of President Polk, 478
Explorations west of Mississippi, unsuccessful, 33
Exports, early, from Louisiana, 7
Expositor, The, paper published by opposing Mormon faction, 401

Far West, beginning of Mormon movement into (1846), 404
"Florida Parishes," the, 84
Florida, West, declares independence (1810), 81, 82

— included in new state of Louisiana, 84
Fonda, explores trans-Mississippi West, 67-70
— his route of exploration in the West, 68-70
Forbes, Alexander, prophesies California's future (1838), 448
— California, history of, stimulates interest, 471
Fort Bridger, arrival of Mormons at, 406
— country of, account of, 406, 407
Fort de Chartres, 1718, to Check English on the Ohio and Mississippi, 5
Fort Orleans in relation to French and Spanish, 4
Fort Osage to the Arkansas, road from, 140, 141
Fort Smith reached by Nuttall, 61
— reached by Rocky Mountains Expedition, 53, 54
Fort Snelling established on Upper Mississippi (1822), 47, 48
Fort Sutter, Frémont reaches, 238, 239
Fort Vancouver, Frémont at, 238
Fowler, Jacob, explores trans-Mississippi West, 64-67
— on the upper Rio Grande, 66
France, and her Louisiana negotiations, 11, 12
— claims Oregon country, 200
— Great Britain, and California, 484
Franco-Spanish negotiations over Louisiana, 13, 14
Fredonian uprising (Texas, 1826), 180, 181, 182
— affects U. S.-Mexican relations, 182
Frémont, John C., first Western expedition of (1842), 233-235
— fourth expedition of (unofficial), 243
— homeward route of, second expedition, 240, 241
— second Western expedition of, 235-241
— third expedition of, 241, 242, 243
— what he did, his own estimate of, 239, 240
Fur-trade, competition, 127-136
— era, limits of, 114
— importance of, 114, 115
— in Louisiana, under Spain, 9, 10
— Lewis and Clark report stirs interest in, 115, 116.
— period (1806-1843)
Fur trader, and Indian, relations between, 136, 137
— compared to commercial trader, 137

Gadsden purchase (Mexico), the, 506
Gallatin, Albert, on British interest in Oregon, 369-371
Garden Grove founded by Mormons, 403
Germans in Iowa, 261
Ghent, England and the United States confer there concerning Louisiana territory, 110-112
— Treaty of, left many unsettled questions, 220, 221
Girard Tract, the, in Iowa, (1795), 248
Gila River, in the Mexican treaty, 502
— route for railroad, 502, 503, 504
Gillespie and Mexico-California issue, 490-492
Godoy and Napoleon, 14, 15

— discovery in California relieves Mormons, 410, 411
— in California affects Oregon, 321-323
— — and great immigration by land, 460-464
— — terrible sufferings of seekers, 463, 464
— in Oregon, discovery of, 323
— report of, 456, 457
— rush to California—overland routes of 1849, 461-463
Gonzales, founding of (Texas), 175, 176
Graham, affair of 1840 (California), the, 435, 436
— Isaac, in California affairs, 434, 435, 436
Gray, Robert, and the Boston expedition to Pacific Northwest, 424
— explorer of the Northwest, 208-213
— first to carry American flag around the world, 210, 211
Great Britain, and Oregon, 305-307, 309, 310
— France, and California, 484
— Oregon, and the Monroe Doctrine, 386, 387, 388
— United States, Mexico; proposed Tripartite Agreement (California), 475, 476
Great Salt Lake, Frémont in the vicinity of, 237
— Mormons migrate to, 392
— Valley Carrying Company, Mormons organize, 411
Green, Duff, special agent in the California negotiations, 477, 478
Gregg, Josiah, historian of Santa Fe trade expeditions, 144
Guadaloupe Hidalgo Treaty (California), 464
Gulf of Mexico, French fort on, 2
Gutierrez-Magee Texan expedition, 154-157

Harrison and Tyler elected, 343, 344
Helvetia, New, in California, establishment of, 436, 437
Hidalgo, Guadaloupe, Treaty of (California), 464
Hides and tallow trade, California, 425, 426
Hot Springs reached by Nuttall, 61
Houston, Sam, and the U. S. Government, relative to Texas, 348
— on annexation of Texas, 335, 336, 337
— regarding Texas annexation, 346-351
Howard County Established 1816, 90
Hudson Bay Company absorbs Northwest Company, 222
— Great Britain, and Oregon, 307
— in Oregon, property rights of, 389
— posts in the Northwest, 288, 289, 290
Humboldt River, expedition along the, 445, 446
Hunt and Lisa, as fur traders, 121-124

Iberville bayou, 2
Illinois country and agriculture, early eighteenth century, 5, 6
— French expeditions from, 5
Illinois, reception of Mormons in, 395, 396
Indian, and fur trader, relations between, 136, 137
— depredations (Iowa), protection against, 254
— land cessions (Iowa,, 252, 253

— settlers in Louisiana, 88, 89
— squatters cause trouble in Louisiana, 88
— trader, a factor in Louisiana's development, 6
— treaties in Iowa history, 253
Indians, and American Fur Company, 132-135
— a scourge to Santa Fe traders, 141-144
— Nez Percé, in search of the Bible, 286
— on Santa Fe route, great dangers from, 141-147
— removed from Arkansas Territory (1824-1828), 89, 90
— treaties concluded by Atkinson with (1825), 230, 231
Indigo in Louisiana, 6
Iowa, admitted to the Union (1846), 257
— after 1850, reasons for rapid growth of, 261, 262
— City founded (1839), 251
— constitution, 255, 256, 257
— constitutional convention, 254, 255
— early population of, 251
— first white settlement in, 247
— heavy immigration to, 262, 263, 264
— in 1850, settled area of, 261
— Indian land cessions in, 252, 253
— Indian name, meaning of the, 251, 252
— Irish in, 261
— Julien Dubuque in, 247, 248, 249
— population, growth of, summarized, 264
— rush of population to (1843), 253, 254
— southern, Mormon migration through (1846), 403
— the Girard Tract in, 248
— well advertised, 251-252
— westward, moving frontier of, 263, 264
Irrigating canals of the Mormons, 410

Jackson, President, instructs Butler on Mexico, 330
— — makes offer to Mexico about Texas, 328
— — private views of, regarding Texas, 338, 339
— private citizen, anxious about Texas, 351, 352
— — still for Texas annexation, 344, 345
— — urges Texas annexation, 353, 354
Jefferson and British relations, 21, 22
— and his keen interest in exploration, 32, 33
— and Louisiana Purchase negotiations, 19-31
— and the Mississippi controversy with Spain, 19, 20
— corresponds with Nolan's agent, in Texas, 151-152
— dealing with France and Spain, 19-22
— on the territorial limits, 100-109
— recommends to Congress an expedition to Far West, 33, 34
Jesuits and their early settlements, 5
Jones, Commodore, and the Monterey incident (California), 474, 475

Kansas, Missouri, and Arkansas explored by Shaw, 58
Kansas River, Frémont explores along, 236
Kaskaskia, Jesuit settlement, 1700, 1817, 5, 6
Kearny, General, as Governor of California, 455

Kelley, Hall Jackson, government investigates Oregon reports of, 298-301
— his place in Oregon annals, 285
— important in Oregon history, 280-285
— meets Oregon missionaries, 291
— on California, 471
Kendrick, John, voyager of the Northwest, 210, 211

La Harpe and the Arkansas, 5
Land problem, the, in Austin's Texas Colony, 169, 170
Lands, distribution of, among the Mormons, 413, 414
Larkin, Thomas O., and Mexico-California issue, 489, 490
La Salle, or Robert Cavalier, in relation to France and the Mississippi, 1
Laussat on the Louisiana Purchase, 72, 73
Lead mining in Illinois and Wisconsin, 249
Leclerc subdues Toussaint L'Ouverture, 18
Lee, Jason and Daniel, Oregon missionaries, 287
Lewis and Clark Expedition, 34-40
— — important results of, 40
— — Jefferson's instructions to, 36, 37
— report quickens fur-trade interest, 115-116
— return of, beginning of fur-trade era, 114
Linn's Bill concerning settlement of Oregon (1841), 303
— on Oregon, and Great Britain, 305-307
— — discussion of, 305-308
Lisa, and Hunt, as fur traders, 121-124
— states his policy with the Indians, 137
Livingstone and Louisiana Purchase negotiations, 25-30
Long, James, filibustering Texan expedition of, 157-159
— Major, Northwest expedition of (1823), 226-230
— Stephen H., and Atkinson encounter Congressional opposition, 50, 51
— — and his scientific expedition up the Missouri, 49, 50
— — and Rocky Mountain Expedition, 51-54
"Long's Republic" makes Texas "free and independent," 157-159
Louisiana and its retrocession from Spain to France, 11, 12, 13, 14
— and the French, 11, 12
— ceded, population and settlement of, 8, 9
— cession, Congress divides into two parts, 74
— Claiborne first governor of, 84
— District of, 74
— divided into nine military districts, 3
— growth of, slow, 6
— in 1812, population of (1804-1812), 85, 86
— internal problems of, 80
— northern boundary of, 109, 112
— northern part of, 86, 87
— population in 1803, 74
— southern, explorations in, 40, 41
— southern settlements of, 87, 88
— under Spanish rule, prosperity of, 9, 10
Louisiana Purchase, and France's claim to Trans-Mississippi West, 1

— and Jefferson's diplomatic triumph, 19-31
— eastern part of, gradual partition of, 246, 247
— final agreements on, 112
— final settlement of, 1803 and 1804, 72
— formal surrender at two points on the Mississippi, 72
— proposals and counter-proposals, 28, 29
— public sentiment concerning, 72, 73
— ranks next to Independence and Constitution, 23, 24
— treaty signed, 30
L'Ouverture, Toussaint, 16-19
— — and Santo Domingo, 16-19
— — and the United States, 16-18
Lumber industry and the Mormons in Upper Mississippi, 265, 266
— in Wisconsin and Minnesota, 265
— western, extension of, 268, 269

Madison, President, nullifies West Florida's independence, 82
— plans for fortifications on Upper Mississippi, 47
Madrid, and the Treaty of 1795, 11
Magee-Gutierrez Texan expedition, 154-157
Magee-Kearny Expedition East of the Mississippi, 54, 55
Maine, discussion of her admission contingent on Missouri's admission, 96, 97
Mallet, Pierre and Paul, explore to within sight of the Rockies, 5
"Manuel Lisa, and Company," fur traders, 118
— states his policy with the Indians, 137
Manufacturing introduced among Mormons, 412, 414
Marbois and Louisiana Purchase, 24-29
Marcy, Captain Randolph B., one of later Western explorers, 244
Maurepas, Lake, explored by Bienville, 2
McKenzie, Kenneth, fur trader with American Fur Company, 132-135
Meares, John, reaches Nootka Sound, 205
Methodist Missionary Board and early Oregon missions, 287
Mexican Grant in Texas, terms of, 167, 168
Mexican War, Mormons volunteer in the, 403, 404
Mexico, alarmed by rumors in California, 433
— and California settlers, 427, 428
— and early negotiations for California by United States, 467-475
— and England, breach between, and the California issue, 477
— and Texas, 483, 484
— — Law of April 6, 1830, 182, 183, 184
— — relations just prior to Texas annexation, 362-367
— — strained relations between, 184, 185
—and United States at war, 454, 455
—at war with the United States, 493, 494
— attitude of, toward United States (1830), 331-333
— California, and Dr. William S. Parrott, secret agent, 478-482
— California conditions, 433-436

— — issue; Thomas Larkin consul in California, 489, 490
— confirms Austin's grant in Texas, 166-168
— curbs American immigration to Texas, 184
— loses California, 492
— loses Texas, 195, 196, 197
— objects to Texas Convention of 1833, 188-190
— proposals to annex, 495, 496, 497, 498
— protests Texas annexation, 361
— receives conciliatory reply from Buchanan about Texas, 361, 362
— rendered anxious by Texas immigration, 179-180
— Slidell appointed minister to, 482
— Texas revolts against, 194
— treaty between United States and, amended and accepted by Senate, 506
— — Conclusion of, 501
— — drawn up, 505
— — final difficulties, 502, 505
— — final negotiations, 499-501
— — Gila River in the, 502
— Treaty Commissioners, difficulties of the, 503, 504
— United States, Great Britain; proposed Tripartite Agreement (California), 475, 476
Michigan Territory, additions to, 246
Mines, lead, in Illinois and Wisconsin, 249
"Mines of Spain," Dubuque's headquarters known as, 248
Minnesota, and Wisconsin, lumbering in, 265
— "boosting" the settlement of, 270, 271
— early missionary settlements in, 267, 268
— early post offices in, 272
— foreigners in, 273, 274
— population of, 272, 273
— River (St. Peter's) reached by Long, 227
— valley, early towns in, 271, 272
Mission established at Waiilatpu, Oregon, 296, 297
Missionaries' activities in the West, results of, 301
— crossing the plains, experiences of, 292, 293
— later call for (Oregon), 301
— make overland expedition to Oregon, 287, 288
Missionary movement in Oregon, 286-298
— movement of, to Oregon, 286, 287
Missionary settlements, early, in the West, 267, 268
Missions, Oregon, reenforced, 297, 298
Mississippi, Upper, explorations in, 232-236
— — site of early French settlements, 5
Missouri admitted into the Union (1821), 101
— Compromise (1820), 96-98
— Constitution of, 98-101
— emigration to Oregon from, 303, 304, 305
— founded (1808), 214
— Fur Company a formidable competitor of Rocky Mountain Company, 127
— Kansas, and Arkansas explored by Shaw, 58
— Mormons persecuted in, 393, 394, 395
— petition for Statehood defeated, 93-95
— River and French Canadians, 4
— — Atkinson's expedition up, 231
— — explored by Bradbury, 56

— — steamboats on, 135, 136
— Territory of, 85, 86
— — (1812-1820), settlement of, 90, 91
— — (1820), summary of population, 92, 93
Mobile, the site of early French post, 3
Monroe, and Louisiana negotiations, 19-31
— appointed minister to France and Spain, 21
— Doctrine, and Polk on the Oregon issue, 386, 387, 388
— — Oregon, and Great Britain, 309, 310
— — Russia, England, and United States, 202, 203
— President, on the Northwest situation, 223
Monterey incident, the, in California history, 474, 475
Morfontaine, Treaty of, restores relations between France and United States, 12
Morgan, George, and his proposed American colony (1789), 76, 77, 78
— in Upper Louisiana, influence of, 78
Mormon, Church founded by Joseph Smith (1830), 392
— settlements, 257, 258
Mormons, active in manufacturing, 412
— advisability of community settlement for, 396
— after Smith's death, renewed persecutions of, 402, 403
— and polygamy, 400-402
—arrive at Fort Bridger, 406
— begin movement into the Far West (1846), 404
— distribution of lands among the, 413, 414
— early government of, 415, 416
— employ tithes system, 412, 413
— establish the State of Deseret, 415-418
— explore Fort Bridger country, 406, 407, 408
— extend settlements, 419-422
— found settlement at Nauvoo, Ill., 397
— General Conference of (1849), 411, 412
— great migration of, to the West, 392, 393
— growth of industry among the, 412, 413, 414
— increase and prosper, 397, 398, 399
— in Far West, hardships of, 408, 409
— in Illinois, community settlement of, 396
— in Missouri, persecution of, 393, 394, 395
— in Upper Mississippi valley, 265, 266
— journey of, to Far West, 405, 406
— lay out Garden Grove and Mount Pisgah, 403
— many settlements, of, 419-422
— migrate through southern Iowa (1846), 403
— migration of, from Ohio to Missouri, 392, 393
— organize Great Salt Lake Valley Carrying Company, 411
— thrifty and enterprising, 398
— volunteer in the Mexican War, 403, 404

Napoleon, and his ideas of boundaries, 102
— and Monroe on Louisiana Purchase, 29, 30
— in relation to Louisiana's retrocession from Spain to France, 12, 13, 14
— on the Louisiana Purchase, 24, 25

Natchitoches, site of French fort in 1717, 4
Nationalism and the West, 255, 256
Nauvoo, great Mormon exodus from, 403
— settlement founded by the Mormons, 397
New England and California, beginning of commerce between, 424
New Helvetia in California, establishment of, 436, 437
New Mexico and California, overland trade between, 145, 147
New Orleans, founded, 1718, by Bienville, 3
Nez Percé chiefs in search of the Bible, 286
Nicollett, J. N., famous explorer, 233
Nolan, Philip, and his expedition of 1800, 152, 153
— — and Jefferson's interest in his findings, 151, 152
— famous in early Texan annals, 150-153
— makes early expedition to Texas, 150
Nootka Sound, Convention, international treaty regarding American northwest coast, 206
— Meares and Cook reach, 205
Northern boundary of United States, determining the, 229
Northern settlements of Louisiana, 86, 87
Northwest, claims, renewed attempts to settle, 224, 225
— Company acquires Astoria, 218, 219
— — and its relations with Americans, 216-225
— — and John Jacob Astor's fur trade, 120
— — and Pike's explorations, 42, 43
— decline of American interest in the, 222-224
— early English voyages in the, 204-214
— new explorations in the, plans for, 226
— on the Columbia River, 214
— overland expeditions to the, 214
— Pacific, conditions in 1824, summary of, 203, 204
— territory dispute settled; British-American, 389-390
Northwesterners *v.* Southerners in Oregon controversy, 374, 380, 381
Nuttall accompanies Major Bradford on government trip among Indians and loses his way, 62
— completes his explorations (1820), 64
— explorer of the West, 60-64
— reaches Fort Smith, 63, 64

Oregon, about middle of 19th Century, 324, 325
— and Great Britain, 305-307, 309, 310
— and the "Bargain of 1844," 377-381
— and the Champoeg Convention (1843), 315-317
— and the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, 309, 310, 371, 373
— Attempts to organize local government in, 314-317
— "boosted" by Hall Jackson Kelley, 280
— British-American joint occupancy in, termination of, 388-390
— Colonization Society, 282, 284
— Company, The, encourages settlement of Oregon, 310-313

— considered "not worth possessing, 278, 279
— controversy and the Cincinnati Convention (1843), 375, 376
— — and the 49th parallel, 385, 386
— — local meetings on behalf of, 374, 375
— — President Polk on the, 383-385
— — settled, British-American, 389, 390
— country, claims of various nations to, 200
— — France's claims to, 200
— — relations between Russia and United States concerning, 200-204
— — Spain's claims to, 200
— Democrats, slavery, and expansion, 376, 377
— development at north and division of, 323, 324
— development of, discussed by federal government, 299-301
— diplomacy, British, George Canning on, 368, 369
— — to 1827, summary of, 368
— discovery of gold in, 323
— emigration from Missouri to, 303, 304, 305
— enters national politics, 376-381
— federal government's interest in, 299-301
— gold in California affects, 321-323
— Great Britain, and United States, 373, 374
— history of, Congressional report important in, 275, 276, 277
— 1843, immigration to, 312, 313
— 1848, immigration to, 318
— immigration to, company formed for, 310, 311
— importance of Kelley's pioneer work in, 280-285
— industries of, 318, 319
— Linn's Bill regarding settlement of (1841), 303
— missionary movement in, 286-298
— more optimistic views concerning, 279, 280
— population of, 318, 319
— settlers, location of, 313, 314
— 1848, territory government established in, 319
— territory, bill to organize (1828), 277, 278
O'Reilly, The Bloody, in Louisiana, 7, 8
Orleans admitted into the Union, 83, 84
— becomes the State of Louisiana, 84
— opposition to admission into the Union, 83, 84
— Territory of, 74
Overland expedition of Pacific Fur Company, 121, 125

Pacific, basis for American interest in, 209-213
— Fur Company organized, 215
— — organized by John Jacob Astor, 120, 121
— — overland expedition of, 121-125
— Mail Steamship Company and California gold, 459, 460
— Northwest, beginning of commerce along coast of, 424, 425
— — Champoeg Convention (Oregon) important to, 316
— — conditions in 1824 summarized, 203, 204
— — Congressional committee on, appointment of, 275
— — — report of (1821), 275, 276, 277

——Gray's Boston expedition to the, 424
——proposal to introduce Chinese in, 276
Paiute Indians on the Santa Fe caravan trail, 147
Panic of 1827 causes movement to California, 438, 439
Paris, Treaty of, 7
Parker, Samuel, Presbyterian missionary to Oregon, 292, 293, 294
——publishes volume of travels, 294
Parrott, Dr. William S., secret agent and Mexico-California issue, 478-482
——reports on Mexico and California, 480
Patties, the, California explorers, 432
Pella, the Dutch settlement in Iowa, 259
Pembina, Long's expedition arrives at, 227
Pichon, French chargé, and Louisiana, 22, 23
Pike's Peak and its first ascent by white men, 52
Pike, Zebulon Montgomery, and his tour of Southwest, 44-47
—as an explorer, 41-46
—explores in Spanish territory, 45, 46
—on the Upper Mississippi, 41, 44
Pisgah, Mount, founded by Mormons, 403
Poinsett, pessimistic reports of, concerning Mexico, 330, 331
—U. S. Representative in Mexico, and Texas, 328, 329, 330
Polk, President, appoints Trist to negotiate peace with Mexico, 498, 499
—expansion policy of, 478
—on annexation of Mexico, 497, 498
—on the Oregon issue, 383-385
——firm stand of, 386, 387, 388
—Oregon, and Monroe Doctrine, 386, 387, 388
—plans to acquire California, 478
—recalls Trist, agent to Mexico, 499
—stirs England on Oregon question, 383-385
Polygamy, not sanctioned by all Mormons, 401
—splits Mormon Church itself, 400-402
Pontchartrain, Lake, explored by Bienville, 2
Post offices in Minnesota, early, 272
Prairie du Rocher post, 5
Presbyterians take up Oregon missionary work, 292
"Project" of Napoleon, relative to Louisiana, of great import in United States history, 13

Quincy, Josiah, opposes admission of Orleans to the Union, 83, 84

Red River, explored by Bienville, 2
Rendezvous, in fur trading, origin of the, 126, 127
Republic of Texas, constitution adopted for, 196
Right of deposit of merchandise at New Orleans, 19, 23
Robidoux advertises California, 439
Robinson, Dr. John H., and his mission to New Mexico, 46
Rocky Mountain Fur Company competes with American Company, 131, 132
—dissolution of, 128

— is short-lived, 125-126
— some successes of, 127
— work, great importance of, 128, 129
Rocky Mountains, John C. Frémont explores, 234, 235
— Expedition disbands at Cape Girardeau, Oct. 12, 1820, 54
— — divides, for purposes of exploration, 52, 53
— — under Long, 51-54
Russia, and the Oregon country, 200-204
— England, United States, and Monroe Doctrine, 202, 203
— negotiates with United States about Oregon country, 202, 202
Russian-American Fur Company formed (1799), 200
Ryswick, Treaty of, marks beginning of official French Mississippi exploration, 2

Saint Anthony and Saint Paul as rival towns, 269, 270
Saint Denis, Sieur de, and Southwest territory, 4
Sainte Genevieve, best known American district of Louisiana, 76
Saint Louis, a center for American Fur Company, 129-130
— as fur-trade center, 115
— Missouri Fur Company, disasters come to first expedition of, 116-118
— — end of, 118, 119
— — establishment of, 116
Saint Paul and Saint Anthony as rival towns, 269, 270
Saint Petersburg, Russia and United States sign treaty at (1824), 203
Saint Peter's River (Minnesota) reached by Long, 227
Saint Philippe post, 5
Salt Lake City laid out by the Mormons, 409
— Mormon settlement, magnificence of, 409, 410
San Ildefonso, Treaty of, 13, 14
San Jacinto, Battle of, Texans defeat Santa Anna in, 197
Santa Anna, General, and Americans in Texas, 186, 187
— defeated by Taylor in Mexican war, 495
— defeated by Texans, 197
Santa Fe and Pike's Southwest Expedition, 44, 45, 46
— a profitable expedition to (1824), 139
— caravan expedition, the annual, importance of, 144, 145
— caravan trail, Frémont on the, 240, 241
— road, 140, 141
— route menaced by Indians, 141-144
— trail, the, lure of, 147
Santo Domingo, a thorn in Napoleon's side, 15-19
Scholte, Henry Peter, heads Dutch immigration to West, 258, 259, 260, 261
Schoolcraft, Henry, explorer of the West, 59, 60
Scott, General, and Trist, special agent to Mexico, dispute between, 499
Selkirk's Colony in the Northwest, at Pembina, 228, 229
Settlers in Texas, character of, 177, 178
Shaw, Colonel John, explorer of the West, 57, 58
Sierra Nevada Mountains, California company crosses the, 446, 447
Slacum Memorial concerning Oregon development, 298-301

Slavery and the Oregon controversy, 376, 377
— Congressional discussion of, 96-101
— in Texas, 179
— Wilmot proviso concerning, 493, 494
Slidell appointed minister to Mexico, 482
— fails in his Mexican mission, 486, 487
— official instructions to, 482, 483, 484
— significance of instructions to, 486
Sloat, Commodore, and California Republic project, 492
Smith, Jedediah S., and his second journey to California, 430, 432
— explorations of 1824-1825, 126
— highly important in western annals, 431, 432
— makes first overland trip to California, 428, 429, 430
— noted explorer of the West, 126-128
— tragic death of, 141, 142
Smith, Joseph, aspires to U. S. presidency, 399-400
— at the zenith of his power, 399
— founds Mormon church (1830), 392
— Mormon leader, succeeded by Brigham Young, 402
— plans Mormon settlement (Iowa), 396, 397
— violent death of, 401, 402
Southern Louisiana, explorations and settlements in, 40, 41, 87, 88, 92
Southwest, the, beginning of trade with, 137
— the, commercial trader of, 137
— the, exploration of, by Pike, 44, 47
Spain acquires Louisiana from France, 1762, 7
— and Boston merchants, relative to Pacific Northwest, 423, 424
— and California, 426, 427
— and the Oregon country, 200
— and United States, friction between, 103
— negotiates territory question with the United States, 104-109
Spanish-American trouble in Texas, 154-157
Spanish régime overthrown in California, 454, 455
Spanish "retributive expedition," 1720, 4
Squatters in Iowa, 249
Stanbury, Captain Howard, one of later Western explorers, 243, 244
"Starving time" of the Mormons, and its relief, 410, 411
State of Deseret, Mormon, 415-418
— — becomes Utah Territory, 419
— — boundaries of, 416, 417
— — constitution of, 415, 416
— — efficient government of, 417, 418
— — seeks admission to Union, 418, 419
Steamboats on the Missouri, and their importance to American fur trade, 135, 136
— record of, 135, 136
Stuart, David, American Northwest explorer, 216-218
Sugar in Louisiana, 6
Sutter, Johann August, in California, 436, 437

Tallmadge Missouri slavery amendment, history of, 93-95

Tallow and hides trade, California, 425, 426
Taos as Fonda found it, 69
Taylor, General, defeats Mexican armies, 495
Territorial settlement with Spain, final basis of, 107, 108
"Territory of Orleans," population of, 79, 80
Tesson, Louis Honoré, early Iowa settler, 249
Texas, acquisition of, opposed by Austin, 334, 335
— administration changes, 342, 343
— American uprising in (1832), 185-187
— and early explorations, 4
— and Mexico, 483, 484
— — just prior to Texas annexation, 362-367
— — Law of April 6, 1830, 182, 183, 184
— — strained relations between, 184, 185
— and political parties, 354-356
— annexation favored by Stephen A. Douglas, 359, 360
— — finally accomplished (1845), 366, 367
— — Mexico protests, 361
— — Northern and Eastern States oppose, 342
— — sentiment and Tyler's reelection, 358
— — solicited, 339, 340
— as "Long's Republic," 157, 159
— at end of second decade, 19th century, bad plight of, 159
— character of settlers in, 177, 178
— concessions and population of 176, 177
— Convention of 1832, 187, 188
— Convention of 1833, 188-190
— debt of, to Moses Austin, 159, 162
— Declaration of Independence, 195, 196, 197
— declared by James Long "free and independent" 158
— diplomacy of, regarding annexation, 346, 347
— early American settlements in, 150
— early efforts to acquire, 327
— early settlers' hardships in, 165, 168
— first 300 American families in, 164
— has choice between two proposals, 366
— immigration to, renders Mexico anxious, 179, 180
— independence of (1836), 337
— — recognized, 339
— interest of Colonel Anthony Butler in, 327
— in the presidential campaign (1844), 356, 357
— population, growth of, 197, 198
— President Jackson makes offer to Mexico about, 328
— reaction in, and negotiations with U. S. Government, 348, 349, 350
— receives copy of Douglas resolution on annexation, 360
— revolution against Mexico, outbreak of, 194
— — principles of, 194, 195
— Sam Houston on Annexation of, 335, 336, 337
— sentiment in United States concerning Mexico and, 328, 329, 330
— slaves in, 179
— solicitations for annexation of, rejected by Administration, 340, 341, 342
— Treaty of Annexation defeated, 352, 353

— — signed (1844), 351
— — terms of, 351, 352
— unscrupulous dealings of Anthony Butler concerning, 468, 470
— war party gains strength, 190
— wealth, growth of, 198
Thompson, David, British Northwest explorer, 216-218
— Waddy, and Webster, correspond about California, 472, 473, 474
Thorn, Captain, and the Tonquin's tragic Northwest trip, 215
Tithes system among Mormons, 412, 413
Toussaint L'Ouverture, 16-19
Trader, commercial, compared to fur trader, 137
— fur, compared to commercial trader, 137
Trans-Mississippi explorations, unofficial, 55-70
Treaties, Indian, in Iowa history, 253
Treaty between Russia and United States signed at St. Petersburg (1824), 203
— of Amity, Settlement, and Limits, Spanish-American, 112
— of Guadaloupe Hidalgo (California), 464
— of Paris and English territory in Louisiana, 7
— of 1783 recognizes part of Louisiana territory as American, 10
— of 1819, Spanish-American, 109
— of 1817 with Cherokee Indians, 89
Tripartite Agreement proposed (California) United States, Great Britain, Mexico, 475, 476
Trist, special agent for Mexican affairs, recalled, 499
— special agent for Mexican peace, Polk appoints, 498, 499
— special agent to Mexico, and General Scott, dispute between, 499
— — remains after his recall, by request of Mexicans, 499-501
Tyler and Harrison elected, 343, 344
— Calhoun, and the Oregon issue, 381
— President, delivers message concerning Texas annexation, 352
— — favors Act of Congress to admit Texas, 354
— — re-elected (1844), 356-358
— — views of, on Texas annexation, 345, 346

Ulloa, de, Don Antonio, 7
United States, acquires California, 492
— at war with Mexico, 493, 494
— change of administration in (1840), 343, 344
— determining northern boundary of, 229
— Great Britain, Mexico; proposed Tripartite Agreement (California), 475, 476
— negotiates treaty with Mexico, 499-506
Upper Louisiana, American settlers of, 75
— changes in organization of, 85
— 1804, summary of settlements in, 78, 79
Upper Mississippi, explorations in (1832-40), 233-236
— valley, Mormons in the, 265, 266
Utah Territory replaces Mormon State of Deseret, 419

Vancouver, in the Northwest, explorations of, 206-209
— meets Robert Gray, explorer, 208, 209
— visits the Columbia River, 213
Van Zandt, Houston's Texas representative to United States, 346-351

Wagons on expeditions, use of, 139
Walker, I. R., conducts California expedition under Bonneville, 232
Walker, Joe, guides 1843 California immigration, 449, 450
Waltz, the, as a foreign influence in California, 427, 428
War of 1812, and events immediately preceding, interrupt exploration, 47
— checks westward movement of population, 90
Washington, Territory of, 324
— — population of the (1853), 324
Webster and Waddy Thompson correspond about California, 472, 473, 474
Webster-Ashburton Treaty and the Oregon question, 371-373
— (Oregon), history of, 309, 310
"Western Engineer," The (1819), a steamboat on the Missouri, 135
West, the, and nationalism, 255, 256
— later explorations in (1849-1850), 243, 244
West Florida included in the new state of Louisiana, 84
Whaling industry, New England, and California, 425
White River explored by Schoolcraft, 59, 60
Whitman, Marcus, Presbyterian Oregon missionary, 292, 294, 295, 296
Willamette Cattle Company, the, 298, 299
Willamette (Oregon), the, mission established on, 289, 290, 291
Wilmot slavery proviso, 493, 494
Wisconsin, and Minnesota, lumbering in, 265
— Early missionary settlements in, 267
— Early towns in, 266, 267
— Territory of, organized, 246
Women, white, the first to journey across the plains, 295
Wyeth, Nathaniel J., aids Oregon missionaries, 287
— early pioneer in Oregon, 282-285

Yellowstone River explored by Clark, 40
— mouth of, reached by Lewis and Clark, 39
"Yellowstone," The (1831), a steamboat on the Missouri, 135, 136
Young, Brigham, governor of State of Deseret, 419
— introduces manufacturing among Mormons, 412
— organizing genius of, 414, 415
— political and religious autocrat, 415
— succeeds Joseph Smith as Mormon leader, 402

MILLS COLLEGE LIBRARY

THIS BOOK DUE ON THE LAST DATE
STAMPED BELOW

Books not returned on time are subject to a fine of 10c per volume per day.

RESERVED Hist. 76
RESERVED Hist. 45
FACULTY
RESERVED Hist. 45
FACULTY
RESERVED Hist. 45
RESERVED Hist. 45
RESERVED Hist. 25
RESERVED Hist. 25
RESERVED Hist. 25
Hist. 25
Hist. 25
RESERVED Hist. 25
RESERVED Hist. 31
FEB 5 1952

FEB 27 1952
MAY 2 9 '58
MAY 2 6 1959
OCT 19 '75
DEC 4 1990

MILLS COLLEGE LIBRARY
BNF The trans-Mississippi West (1803-1
978
3 3086 00231 5133

978 27048 T656t
c.1